



PURCHASED

**INDIAN PAINTING
UNDER
THE MUGHALS**



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PURCHASED

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA

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The Emperor Jahangir celebrating the festival of *Ab-pashi*, or the sprinkling of rose-water
See Jahangir's *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 265 ; painted by Govardhan (?) July 1614
Rampur State Library ; size 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 9".

PURCHASED

**INDIAN HISTORICAL
RESEARCHES**

**INDIAN PAINTING
UNDER
THE MUGHALS
A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750**

PERCY BROWN

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P R E F A C E

IN the course of compiling this work I have received considerable help from various sources, which it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge. To those who have already contributed to our information on the subject of Indian miniature painting by means of books or articles my sincere thanks are here rendered ; especially am I under obligation to the writings of the following : Dr. F. R. Martin, who in his monumental work on the *Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey* has covered the whole field of research ; Mr. E. B. Havell, the pioneer of the present Indian art movement, whose books have enabled us to view it through his own sympathetic eyes ; Dr. Coomaraswamy, whose publications on the subject have been welcomed by all students, and one of whose achievements has been the classification of Indian miniatures into the two schools of Rājput and Mughal ; Sir Thomas Arnold, whose investigations into Persian and Indian painting, aided by his unique knowledge of the contemporary literature, have thrown fresh light on its historical aspect ; Dr. Laurence Binyon, who has described Far Eastern and Indian painting in such terms that it is possible for the student to realize their relative positions in the sphere of Asiatic art ; M. Blochet, whose exhaustive catalogues of Persian miniatures, and whose scholarly articles on the graphic art of the Near and Middle East, have added largely to our information ; Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and his staff of assistants, the results of whose labours are embodied in reports of inestimable value ; and finally the late Mr. Vincent Smith, whose *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* has provided the student of oriental art with an orderly sequence of periods on which to base his investigations ; the last named also placed at my disposal some hitherto unpublished historical notes. To these, my predecessors in the field of Indian art research, I tender my full acknowledgements.

The task of assembling the illustrative material gathered from a number of widely distributed sources has been considerably lightened by assistance, willingly rendered. For help in obtaining examples from the collections in Paris I have to thank H.E. Lord

Hardinge of Penshurst, and also my friend M. Demotte, the distinguished art connoisseur, collector, and publisher of the Champs Élysées ; the latter interested himself indefatigably in my requirements, and through his instrumentality some of the finest illustrations in this work were secured. From the art treasures of Baron Maurice Rothschild, M. Vever, and M. Cartier, I was allowed to take my own choice of reproductions, and for this privilege I here express my sincere gratitude. In England the same desire to aid me in my work prevailed. The authorities controlling the various public institutions gave me every facility for studying their collections, together with sanction to reproduce any pictures that I required. The British Museum represented by Dr. Binyon, the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, through Mr. Stanley Clarke, the India Office Library by the courtesy of Dr. Thomas, and the Bodleian through its Chief Librarian, all rendered assistance. To Mr. Dyson Perrins I owe much, as his kindness enabled me to study under the most favourable conditions his series of illustrated manuscripts, and he also obtained for me the photographs of some of the miniatures in his very fine copy of the *Khamsah*. The support I have received in India has been accorded on equally generous terms. H.E. Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, permitted me to make a selection from his collection, while H.E. Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor of the United Provinces, and H.E. Sir Edward Maclagan, the Governor of the Punjab, on occasion gave me their help. To H.H. the Nawab of Rampur my thanks are due for many illustrations, and especially for the loan of two of his most valuable miniatures, which, without hesitation, he arranged to be dispatched to England for reproduction in colour. The Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, allowed me to utilize for the same purpose a number of pictures from the Art Section of that institution, while the Curator of the Jaipur Museum supplied me with some useful photographs of the *Razmnāma*. Mr. J. C. French, of the Indian Civil Service, not only placed his pictures at my service, but also the benefit of his close acquaintance with many of the collections in India and in Europe. My thanks are due to the following for being permitted to refer to their collections in the course of my investigations : Mr. P. C. Manuk of Bankipur, M. Claude Anet of Paris, Major Macaulay, Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, C.I.E., and Mr. Gogendra Nath Tagore of Calcutta, Mr. Imre Schwaiger, Mr. Mani Lal Nahar of Calcutta, and M. Vignier of Paris. For assistance in the technical portions I have relied on the traditional knowledge of Babu Ishwari Prosada, while the late Lt.-Col. Sir

Adelbert Talbot, K.C.I.E., and Shams-ul-Ulama M. Hidayet Hosain have advised me on some of the inscriptions and on the identification of several of the subjects. Messrs. Macbeth of Fleet Street have been helpful in taking photographs of pictures in the London collections and in according me permission to reproduce from these. Lastly, I desire to record the heavy debt I owe to my friend Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, of the Indian Educational Service, for undertaking the thankless task of revising the manuscript, and for much help freely given at all times during the progress of the work.

Against advice, and in spite of the fact that it has been described as an inartistic proceeding, I have included among the illustrations portions of some of the pictures reproduced to a size larger than the originals. My reasons for so doing are that in this way they may be an additional means of enabling the art student to realize with more certainty the manner in which some of these paintings were produced. The original pictures are all miniatures, that is, paintings executed to the smallest possible size for the spectator to view with comfort. Further it is no exaggeration to say that they can only be seen with advantage in the same strong light in which they were painted—the brilliant sun of India. In the course of reproduction, it has been necessary to make almost all of them smaller than the originals in order to conform to the size of the printed page, in a word they are reduced miniatures. It is in an endeavour to correct these various disadvantages that I have allowed a few to appear slightly over the original size. That they have been enlarged without the least loss of effect has supported me in my decision.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A'in.* *A'in-i-Akbari*, by Abu'l Fazl, transl. Blochmann and Jarrett.
- Akbar.* *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, by Vincent Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917).
- Babur.* *Babur's Memoirs*, transl. by Leyden and Erskine, London, 1826.
- Bernier.* *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, transl. and ed. Constable and V. A. Smith (Oxford University Press, 1914).
- H.F.A.* *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, by Vincent A. Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911).
- Jahangir.* *The Tūzuk-i-Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, transl. and ed. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, R.A.S., 1909, 1914.
- Manucci.* *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India*, transl. and ed. by W. Irvine, 4 vols., London, 1907, 1908.
- Martin.* *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, by F. R. Martin (Quaritch, 1912).
- Roe.* *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, to the Court of the Great Mogul*, ed. W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 1899.
- Tavernier.* *Travels in India*, transl. V. Ball.
- Terry.* *A Voyage to East India*, by the Rev. Edward Terry. Second edition, 1777.

INTRODUCTION

THE GREAT MUGHALS

Babur	1526-1530	Jahangir	1605-1627
Humayun	1530-1556 ¹	Shah Jahan	1627-1658
Akbar	1556-1605	Aurangzeb	1658-1707

THE art of painting in India has become known through its two principal developments—the Buddhist frescoes of the first centuries of the Christian era and the later mediæval miniatures. Owing to the inaccessibility of the former the student of these unique examples of Indian pictorial art is usually unable to see them *in situ*, and so is dependent for his knowledge on reproductions ; but in his researches in the latter art, he is confronted with no such disabilities, as numbers of the original pictures are available for his inspection in many of the larger libraries, and in most collections of Indian art. It is with the miniature painting of India in one of its aspects that this work proposes to deal. As a form of expression the art has resolved itself into two phases, which for convenience may be referred to as schools. These are the Rājput, which is the Hindu form of the art, and the Mughal, which is the Muhammadan ; both schools, however, owed their origin to the artistic incentive of a Muhammadan dynasty, that of the Mughals. The Mughal emperors came to India from Central Asia, and were the descendants of the Amir Timur—Tamerlane. They began to establish an empire in Northern India—Hindustan—towards the middle of the sixteenth century, attaining to the height of their power during the seventeenth century. Then their dominions included almost the whole of the Indian peninsula, and the empire of the ‘ Great Mogul ’ had the reputation of being one of the mightiest in the East. In the first half of the eighteenth century their authority weakened under a succession of effete sovereigns, and, towards the end of that century, the dynasty and the empire which it ruled, as a political factor, had to all intents and purposes ceased to exist. As the art of the miniature painter, in its Mughal aspect, was dependent entirely

¹ This includes an interregnum of several years, while Pathan and Sur kings occupied the throne of Delhi.

on the ruling power for its support, the history of the school follows the same course as that of the Mughal dynasty, flourishing when it flourished and declining when it declined. The initial step in its development was taken by the Emperor Humayun, when he retained in his service two artists from Persia, but the actual foundation of the school was laid by the constructive genius of his famous son, Akbar the Great, in the course of his long reign which extended from A.D. 1556 to 1605. Under the aesthetic Jahangir, with his intelligent patronage, it reached its meridian, which was maintained in a slightly less degree during the magnificent reign of Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj Mahal. The decline of the art began with Aurangzeb, who occupied the throne from A.D. 1658 to 1707, and from whose puritanical zeal the painters received little encouragement. Its death-knell was rung by the feeble emperors who followed; immersed in domestic strife and political dissension, they did not attempt to stem the tide of its decay.

The earlier Mughal emperors—Humayun and Akbar—introduced the art of miniature painting into Hindustan from Persia. Their action in this particular represents, however, only one comparatively small item in a fairly wide movement. From the nature of this movement it may be termed the 'Persianization' of Northern India. In the train of these emperors was a great medley of Asiatic tribes—Persians, Mongols, Uzbeks, Turks, Kalmacks, and Afghans—who came under the generic name of Mughals. Selections from these comprised the Mughal court, and they also figured prominently among the officials of the administration. When the Mughals first arrived in Hindustan, they found the country in a state of chaos, out of which they proceeded to bring some kind of order, and, subsequently, to reorganize many of its native institutions. To help them in their work of reconstruction they instinctively turned to Persia for guidance, a neighbouring empire which under the effective rule of the Safavids was beginning to proclaim itself a great power. Although not actually of that country themselves, the traditions of the Mughal dynasty, through its Timurid ancestry, were linked with those of Persia. Further, throughout much of their history, Persia and India were geographically much closer than they are to-day, as their boundaries marched together, where is now the barrier of Afghanistan. Evidences of an intermittent association between the two civilizations before the arrival of the Mughals are well known. While it cannot be said that Akbar took as his model the rule of the Safavids—he was too original and independent to be a mere plagiarist—that he leaned heavily on it for some of his projects is

clear. In this he was naturally aided by the many Persian officers in his service, the number of whom, instead of diminishing as the dynasty progressed, tended to increase under his successors. Even as late as the last half of the seventeenth century they continued to find employment all over India, for a writer of Aurangzeb's time remarks 'that in the Empire of the Great Mogul, as well as in the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts'.¹ So it came about that Northern India was ruled by a government which used Persian as its court language, and conducted all state correspondence through the same foreign medium. In the official records and in the whole of the departmental routine, Persian was the language usually employed. Naturally this reacted on every activity of the country. But though Persianized to this extent it must not be inferred that the administration was entirely an alien one, imposed on the country without any consideration for its indigenous culture. On the contrary the Mughal emperors, notably Akbar, made every possible use of the conditions that already existed, encouraging the traditional systems of their subjects in the most liberal manner. Many of the institutions that the Mughals established in India, while Persian in origin, were modified by Indian contributions to suit their Indian environment. In a variety of the forms of human activity that ensued, a combination of Persian and Indian elements is observable; in literature, art, architecture, industries, in the planning of their gardens, even down to fruit cultivation, the best that the two countries could offer was utilized. Perhaps the effect on the language of the people that this policy produced will most readily illustrate what was taking place. When the Mughals began their rule the indigenous vernacular of Hindustan, especially in the country around Delhi, was Hindi. But, as we have seen, with the establishment of Akbar's government, Persian was recognized as the official and literary language in court circles and among the bureaucracy generally. Gradually the educated Indians accepted this foreign tongue, regarding it as a mark of elegance and fashion, just as French was affected by all those who aspired to any consideration in England after the Norman conquest. Persian words and phrases speedily found their way into the speech of the common people, being used as a convenient medium of communication between the extensive entourage of the Mughals and the original inhabitants of the country. Before long there grew up that *lingua franca* of Northern India, known as *Urdu*, a 'highly Persianized form of Hindi which nevertheless continued to retain

¹ Tavernier, vol. ii, p. 177.

the grammatical structure of an Indian tongue'.¹ And as with the language, so with many other forms of expression, artistic and literary, identically the same process was taking place.

Miniature painting was therefore only one of many arts and industries which at this time were imported into Hindustan, to undergo a transformation in the hands of its skilled craftsmen. The emperors, personally interested in its development, took definite measures for its encouragement, maintaining as part of their retinue a staff of artists, both Persian and Indian, skilled in this form of painting, and employing them in working out their own ideas. So in the course of time came into being the Mughal school of miniature art, which, as it was inspired by the founders of the dynasty, reflected in its subject-matter and in its intention the mind of the ruling power. But this method of expression originally derived from Persia having found its way into the country, although taken up so enthusiastically by the emperors themselves, did not become the close monopoly of the Mughal court. It attracted in addition many of the indigenous artists of India—hereditary painters—trained for generations to the use of the brush, but unacquainted, up to then, with the art of painting in its miniature form; these readily accepted the new style of technique, adapted it to suit their particular ideas, and soon evolved a school of their own. Their method of work resembles the Mughal art in treatment, but in its motives, in sentiment, and in temper generally, it strikes an entirely different note. As it is associated largely with the Rājputs of Rājputāna and parts of the Punjab, this phase of the art has become known as Rājput or *Rājasthānī*. While the Mughal school therefore confined itself to portraying the somewhat materialistic life of the court, with its state functions, processions, hunting expeditions, and all the picturesque although barbaric pageantry of an affluent oriental dynasty, the Rājput painters, living mentally and bodily in another and more abstract environment, and working for Hindu patrons, pictured scenes from the Indian classics, domestic subjects, and illustrations of the life and thought of their motherland and its creed. In defining the main characteristics of each of these phases of miniature painting, it should be emphasized that the distinctions between the two are more real than apparent. Except for a few artists brought from Persia who lived entirely within the circle of the Mughal court, both arts were in the hands of Indian craftsmen, mainly Hindus, and the heirs of the ancient Buddhist painter-priests. The difference really was a personal one, and lay in the artist's election to take

¹ Akbar, p. 11.

service under the emperor, working according to his patron's ideas and in the recognized official style, or while accepting the advantages of the new and improved method imported by the Mughals, in his continuing to paint according to his own native traditions. Moreover some of the painters of an adaptable nature found themselves able to work at will in both styles, and at times produced pictures which displayed the characteristics of each. The dividing line therefore is an indeterminate one ; and large collections of Indian miniatures will often contain a number of paintings which may be referred to either school.

In the course of any study of Indian art—and the remark also applies to Asiatic art generally—it becomes evident to the occidental that this subject in the East is not viewed from exactly the same standpoint as it is in the West ; in other words art, to the oriental, has a connotation peculiarly its own. As one of many illustrations of this it is only necessary to refer to the now well-known fact that in most Asiatic countries calligraphy has always been considered as a higher art than that of painting. In India under the Mughals painters were regarded merely as hereditary craftsmen, men, who, under a long course of training gradually became adept in painting pictures. On the other hand the *khushnavīs*, or beautiful writer, was a heaven-sent genius, one whose art could not be acquired by practice, however long-continued, or by working according to rules ; it was a natural gift. There are sayings and anecdotes of the great writers, but none of their brothers the painters. In many instances the two craftsmen combined, so that we see on one side of a Mughal miniature a few lines of poetry written by one of the masters of the calligraphic art, and the reverse occupied by a painting, but in no case has either work any relation to the other. Both arts appeared in India with the introduction of paper into that country. The miniature painting of the Mughals, as will be described in detail hereafter, was a process of water colour—technically called *tempera*—applied to the surface of paper. Paper was one of the commodities which the Muhammadan invaders brought with them to India, and it is hardly realized to what extent its employment affected the graphic arts of the country. Previously, the Indian, ever conservative, had clung to his picturesque but somewhat primitive palm-leaf, on which he wrote with an iron style, and continued to do so until long after the rest of Asia had taken to paper as a necessary article of use. In India, even up to the fifteenth century, paper was practically unknown, except among the Gujarātī traders of the west coast, who were compelled by circumstances to utilize it in their

transactions with countries across the seas. The long delay in the acceptance of paper therefore, both for writing and consequently for artistic purposes, is one of the principal reasons why hardly any pre-Mughal painting in India is known. When, however, under the Mughals, this article came into official, and later, into more general use, it soon found favour with all classes, and the immediate development of painting on paper was one of the results.

Among the Hindus painting was originally known as *Chitravidya*, but with the Mughals, to quote the definition of a contemporary writer, Abu'l Fazl, 'drawing the likeness of anything is called *taswir*', and the word *taswir* is the one generally used in India to the present day for a picture, including, of course, a miniature painting. In Europe, notably among French connoisseurs whose acquaintance with the subject is far from superficial, pictures from India are referred to as 'Indo-Persian miniatures', a term which has at least the merit of being descriptive of the art in its earlier stage. When fully developed, however, this form of painting took on a character of its own, essentially Indian and closely associated with the Mughal dynasty, so that in the circumstances that phase of it which was connected with the ruling court is best designated by the word 'Mughal'. Exception has been taken in some quarters to the use of the term 'miniature' in this connexion. To describe a Persian painting, which is a book illustration, as a miniature, may possibly be open to objection, and the same may be said of the earlier Mughal paintings for an equal reason. But as the Indian art matured, the painters were inclined to discard the illustrative art, and to devote themselves more to the production of separate pictures. When the Mughal art was at its best it took the latter form, and the average size of one of these, including the mount, approximates to a sheet of modern foolscap. The dimensions within which a picture may be termed a miniature are variously given, but it is now generally accepted that any painting that is easily portable, and can be passed from hand to hand to be viewed, is a miniature, and to this very reasonable description the Mughal paintings fully conform.. Moreover, according to its ancient derivation from *minium*, the Indian picture can also lay a claim to the title of miniature. For it was the practice of the Indian artist to outline his painting first of all in a red colour—*gairikā*—which, although not obtained from lead, was a mineral pigment—an oxide of iron. On the whole the designation 'Mughal miniature' for this form of Indian painting has everything to commend it.

While the miniatures of the Mughals have become known mainly

on account of their artistic qualities, the student will readily recognize that they also form a valuable pictorial commentary on the history of the period in which they were produced. They do not, however, profess to concern themselves with the state of the ordinary inhabitants of the country—for this we must refer to the contemporary Rājput art—but as a record of the habits and customs of the ruling class they are unique. Much of the work of the school had even a narrower object, its intention being to depict almost the daily life of the monarchs themselves. As these emperors were Muhammadans, the question will be asked, how were they able to reconcile their artistic proclivities with the strict tenets of their religion? In other words, how could they not only permit, but command, pictures of themselves and other living beings to be painted when the Prophet had declared in effect that ‘on the day of resurrection those who had been guilty of making pictures of animate objects would be ordered to breathe life into their handiwork, and those unable to do so would perish in torment’?¹ It is now generally accepted that Muhammad laid down this law with the sole object of preventing idolatry among his followers, the pernicious effects of which were only too apparent among those of other religions with whom he was brought into contact. And on the whole it was observed by Muhammadans in their art, strictly, where it concerned their religion, but less so in its secular form. In those countries dominated by the *Sunnis* it was more literally obeyed, because these took their name from the *Sunnat*, the ‘path’ or ‘usage’ of the Prophet, which they faithfully follow, and in which this particular law is recorded. The other Islamic division, the *Shiah*, allows itself more freedom in such matters, as may be seen in the art of Persia, a country chiefly populated by its adherents. By descent the Mughal emperors were *Sunnis*, and as such would ordinarily have conformed strictly to Muhammad’s edicts, in which case there would have been no Mughal school of painting. But one of the most striking characteristics of the dynasty as a whole was the complete independence of thought displayed by most of its members, and in no direction was this more noticeable than in their attitude towards religion. The individual ideas of each may be briefly defined. Humayun was a devout believer in the faith of his fathers, but during his period of exile from the throne, and dependent for his very existence on being in the good graces of his protector, Shah Tahmasp of Persia, he was forced to become a *Shiah*. The story of Akbar’s struggle with his religious convictions is a long and involved one, in the course of which he became

¹ Mishkat, Book 16 (Kitab ul-libas), Chapter V (Bab ut-Taswir), Section 1.

completely unorthodox, in the end resorting to a peculiar creed devised by himself called the *Dīn Ilāhī* or 'Divine Faith'. Its doctrines enabled him to follow his own inclinations in most things, among which liberal views on the subject of art were included. Jahangir, nominally a *Sunni*, was too easygoing to allow any of the tenets of this belief which conflicted with his own pleasures or opinions to carry weight. In Shah Jahan we see a gradual reversion to the original principles of the orthodox faith, modified, however, by a craving for worldly pleasures, as shown by his magnificence and display. The lives of all these rulers, as manifested by their attitude towards every form of art, seem to prove that laws cannot restrain expression, and that temperament is more powerful than belief. No ordinance, however strongly worded or inspired, could prevent them from giving free play to their aesthetic impulses, as the painting and architecture of their time most eloquently testify. But that a literal interpretation of the Prophet's precept could, and did, affect this artistic movement is observable in the reign of the last of the real 'Great Moguls', Aurangzeb. To his puritanical and ultra-orthodox disposition some decline in the arts may be traced, although it was by no means the only reason for their decay. When Aurangzeb came to the throne, premonitions of the crumbling of the Mughal empire, and with it all its institutions, were not wanting, and it is this circumstance, more than the strict application of the *Sunnat* by the royal zealot, which brought about the deterioration of the school. And, while discussing the influence of religion on the art of the Mughals, the fact should not be lost sight of, that in its pictorial aspect it was severely secular in character, rarely, if ever, straying into other fields, so that its patrons were guided by the spirit rather than the letter of Muhammad's 'prohibition'.

The interest of European artists in Indian painting may be said to have begun with Albrecht Dürer. According to an entry in this master's diary he was presented through some Portuguese East Indian traders with 'a child's head (painted) on linen, and a wooden weapon from Calicut'.¹ These articles must have had some merit in their owner's eyes, otherwise they would have passed unrecorded in a day-book confined only to events of note. Western painters were, in Dürer's time, becoming acquainted with the arts of India, and at one period were fond of introducing into the backgrounds of their pictures objects from that country, such as draperies and carpets; but the first great master to become actually acquainted with the miniatures of the Mughals was Rembrandt. The Dutch

¹ *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, by W. M. Conway.

artist's appreciation of the Eastern painter's genius was of a very practical order. Having acquired a number of Indian miniatures of the early seventeenth century, he proceeded to make careful copies of them in sepia line and wash, on Japanese paper, in his own inimitable style. These drawings, made about the year 1656, of portraits of Jahangir and other Mughal personages, now preserved in the British Museum, are an interesting commentary by the great painter on the art of his brother craftsmen in the East.¹ About the same time examples of Indian miniatures were beginning to arrive in England. Through Edward Pococke, an eminent oriental scholar of the seventeenth century, who lived for some years in Aleppo, Archbishop Laud obtained those which he subsequently deposited in the Bodleian Library. At a later date a Mr. Richard Johnson, who was Warren Hastings's banker, and resided for some time in Lucknow and Hyderabad, acquired the sixty-seven *muraqqa's* now in the Library of the India Office. The Elliott collection in the Bodleian Library was obtained by an Indian official of that name, an ardent oriental bibliophile, whose service was spent mainly at Patna in Bihar. Others, such as Hay and Ouseley, acquired miniatures and manuscripts from India and the East, which have found homes in England. On the Continent similar collections, both public and private, have been obtained in a like manner. Of those in England, as early as the year 1777 the series at the British Museum was attracting the attention of artists, for in July of that year Sir Joshua Reynolds records his admiration of some of the pictures there, specially signifying six in the famous *muraqqa'* No. 18801. Since then, with occasional interludes of neglect, Indian miniatures have received their meed of estimation from artists, connoisseurs, and students of oriental learning, while at the present time the prospect of their attaining a fairly high place in the sphere of pictorial art seems assured.

In any attempt to epitomize the characteristics of the graphic art of Asia, it might be said that the most striking feature of the painting of China and Japan is its line, of Persia its line and colour, while the Indian miniature, although displaying a knowledge of both line and form, owes its principal charm to its colour. The Indian craftsman of the Mughal period specially craved for colour, as may be seen in his textiles, in his enamels, in his architecture brilliant

¹ *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists*, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, British Museum, vol. i (1915), pp. 32-3, Nos. H. 74 to 79. See also an article by Sarre in the *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, xxv, p. 143. The writer, however, refers to a portrait of Jahangir as that of Akbar, a mistake which the B.M. Catalogue repeats.

with inlay and glaze, and in his painting the rich colour-scheme of which first attracts the eye. It is possible that the nature of his environment may have had something to do with this. Hindustan comprises an extensive tract of alluvial country, which from the absence of rain during the greater part of the year mainly assumes a monotonous yellow hue. And, as a compensation for these monochrome surroundings, the Indian people fly to colour, as shown in the wonderful tints of their costume, particularly that of the women-kind. This appetite for colour, which is met by the lowly with gay garments, is just as pronounced in the upper classes and those whose circumstances enable them to make more display, as is proved by the variegated hues of their household effects, wall-hangings, horse equipage, and furnishings generally. It is only to be expected, therefore, that the Mughal court would show what could be done in luxurious colour-effects by amazing combinations of embroideries and cloths of gold, of painting and gilding, of marble and precious stones, pictures of which the state artists were never tired of reproducing. In his efforts to transfer to paper the kaleidoscopic scenes thus presented the artist was compelled to employ a lavish palette, and it is not unlikely that this was one of the means of stimulating his colour-sense to such fine achievements. Colour, therefore, being the dominant note of the Mughal miniatures, it will be realized that the reproduction of these by monotone prints, as are the majority of illustrations in this work, however well prepared, gives a very inadequate idea of their characteristic feature. Moreover, any method of black and white is apt to emphasize unfairly many of those qualities which, when associated with a well-conceived colour-scheme, fall quite naturally into their proper place in the composition. These remarks apply with greater force to pictures like the Mughal miniatures, as they represent an art not generally known, original examples of which many may not have seen. Nevertheless if these illustrations are regarded more as shorthand notes of the subject rather than an attempt at facsimiles of the pictures themselves, the object for which they have been introduced will have been attained. To the colour prints, which have been as skilfully prepared as a mechanical process will permit, and which present in each case a very acceptable duplicate of the original, the student may turn with more confidence. From these he may be able to divine something of the marvellous harmonies and contrasts of their colour-schemes—‘to feed on colour’ as the artist intended him to do. But even these do not reveal the true spirit of the art, its delicacy and choice of tones, the sense of air and space, the

discreet use of gold, the shot greens and silver-threaded greys, that the painter so successfully realized. To see and appreciate these unreproducible qualities the reader must go to the originals—must study collections of the pictures themselves in those public libraries and art galleries which possess examples of the art.

Fortunately, as the list of public and private collections at the end of this volume shows, there is ample material for such study, and the wide distribution of the examples, regrettable in one way, has also its compensations. From a variety of causes, some of which will be referred to, a very large number of the finest Indian miniatures has, in the course of time, entirely disappeared. Sufficient have survived, however, to enable us to judge of the art at its best. But it must be admitted that the mass of the material which is now known to us is of a decidedly inferior order, for even the larger collections of Indian pictures as a rule only contain a very few specimens of outstanding merit. Miniatures of a good quality are usually productions of an early date, and are rare because, owing to the passage of a longer period of time since they were executed, they have been liable to more vicissitudes, and accordingly most of their kind have perished. Later, when the art had degenerated and passed into the hands of an increasing number of less skilful craftsmen, the bazaars of Northern India were flooded with quantities of 'commercial' paintings, which became very common, and, it should be noted, form the bulk of our present-day collections. Out of these it is necessary to select the few fine examples which enable us to form a correct conception of the subject. The history of some of these pictures, especially of the older and better ones, since the gradual breaking up of the imperial collection of the Mughals has often been a sequence of adventures. Some still exhibit distinct traces of the careless treatment to which they have been subjected, of being rolled up in a sepoy's bedding together with other 'loot', of exposure and rough travel, of monsoon rains, of the relentless attacks of tropical insects, of many years of neglect, before they have again found their way into safe keeping. The marvel is that any of these delicate paintings have survived after the period of indescribable lawlessness and disorder that ensued in Northern India in the eighteenth century. When the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah, sacked Delhi in the year 1739, the first real inroad was made on the imperial library of Mughal manuscripts and miniatures, for the conqueror carried away to Teheran with the rest of his vast treasure a selection of the most valuable of these works of art. Some, bearing the seals of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, as well as evidences

of a temporary sojourn in Persia, and later in Constantinople, have found homes in Paris, Berlin, Petrograd, and Vienna. During the war of the Rohillas, more than thirty years after the Persian's devastations, much damage to the collections of art at the Mughal capital took place; and later, the Marathas, while in Delhi, obtained by some means groups of pictures which they sent to the Deccan to be appropriated by the Rajas of Satara and the Peshwas of Poona. But the final dispersal of the contents of the library and picture gallery brought together with such care by the Mughal emperors took place during the mutiny of 1857, when irresponsible people of all kinds, obtaining access to the royal palace, helped themselves to anything that had an appearance of value. Many folios of pictures perished as a result of the interval of anarchy that ensued; but on the other hand not a few were rescued by the intercession of more cultivated minds. Several ardent bibliophiles and picture-lovers obtained for nominal sums priceless illustrated manuscripts—the offer of a rupee to every sepoy who produced one of these is said to have formed the nucleus of at least one well-known modern collection—but the imperial library of the Mughals, and all the works of art that it contained, ceased to exist from this date. Fragments of it are now scattered all over the world, but even if these by some miraculous means could again be brought together, they would only form a fraction of the magnificent collection of pictorial art that was for over two centuries the pride of the Mughals.

Now, however, that these artistic remains of such a remarkable dynasty have been entrusted to our keeping, it behoves us to make every effort to exhibit them so that they are accessible to the intelligent public, and at the same time protected from abrasion or decay. To ensure that both these conditions are observed is not an easy matter. Their delicate nature makes it almost essential that each miniature should be kept under glass. Where we have to deal with a separate specimen no difficulties arise in putting this into effect, as it may be placed between two sheets of glass and sealed up with adhesive tape. Different climates may demand modifications or alterations of such a simple method, but it has been found generally satisfactory. To carry out this plan, however, in the case of an illustrated book or a *muraqqa'* raises many debatable issues, as it necessitates taking the pictures out of the volume and mounting them separately. As a rule the miniatures in a *muraqqa'* have no connexion with one another—a *muraqqa'* is literally a scrap-book—so that there should be no hesitation in opening these out and glazing each picture by itself. If retained as a book, and allowed in the hands of the public, the

constant turning over of the folios rubs and wears the surface no matter how well protected, and the painting suffers accordingly. With book illustrations the same trouble arises, although oriental readers endeavour to obviate this, as they have acquired the habit of turning over the leaves of a manuscript in one particular way, which reduces wear and tear to a minimum. Opening the book at the oriental beginning (the occidental *end*) the student takes each folio by the left-hand bottom corner, passing from page to page in this manner—so confining all wear to one place. Such a method, however, does not prevent damage to the illustrations, the surface of which after much use becomes abraded while the paper often splits in the most alarming fashion. The question to be decided is whether the manuscript is to be regarded as Literature or Art, for it cannot continue to be preserved as both. If it is classified as the latter, the illustrations should be carefully extracted, each one glazed as described, and then kept in a separate case as a supplementary volume to the literary part of the work.



XLII

**The Emperor Jahangir shoots a large lion (*Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 284) ; painted C. A.D. 1623
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 316 ; size $12\frac{1}{4}" \times 7\frac{1}{4}"$.**

PART I. HISTORICAL

I

THE PERSIAN AND INDIAN TRADITIONS

DURING the period of history that corresponds to the Middle Ages in Europe, India was the prey of foreign invaders ; these invaders belonged to certain tribes and races overflowing from Central Asia—Muhammadans conquering the land of the Hindus. Much of the success of these invaders was due to the fact that India was divided up into a number of independent sovereignties, and that its inhabitants were never in complete unity. The various Hindu kingdoms fought hard to keep their dominions intact—their resistance to the Muslim hordes is one of the finest chapters in their history—but their lack of cohesion was the main cause of their downfall. From the seventh century, Arabs and Turks, Afghans and Tartars, Pathans and Mongols, one after the other, sword in hand, swept through the country, massacring its populace, desecrating its shrines, razing its cities to the ground, and carrying off in triumph to adorn their own distant capitals that which they did not destroy. Some of these conquerors, however, did not return to their original homes. Attracted by the fairness of the land of which they found themselves masters, they remained, there in the course of time to build up independent kingdoms on the ruins of those they had devastated. So in time we see India divided up among a number of alien rulers, the country as a whole still largely Hindu, but great tracts of it dominated by Muhammadans from Central Asia. Such was the state of the country in the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time a power arose in Northern India which absorbed all these independent states, and brought the Indian people under one administration, welding the entire country into one imperial whole. This was the Empire of the Mughals. Founded by Babur in the early years of the sixteenth century, it remained the dominant power in India until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb, it began to decay. The pictures painted by the Mughal school of artists illustrate the story of this period of two hundred years, when the Mughal dynasty ruled over one of the greatest empires in the East.

32. PERSIAN AND INDIAN TRADITIONS

The designation 'Mughal' is the usual one employed by European writers when referring to this dynasty and the empire it governed. It is another form of 'Mongol', a name which, in the thirteenth century, had made itself known, as well as feared, from China to the Adriatic. This designation for the empire in India is, however, not literally correct, as the original ancestors of the Mughal emperors were more Turks than Mongols. They were directly descended from Timur, who was a Central Asian Turk; and were only remotely connected, through a female, with Chinghiz Khan, the Mongol 'scourge of Asia'. The Mughal dynasty in India was therefore Timurid in origin; and the heritage that Babur brought with him to the land of his conquest was that which, under Timur and his descendants, attained such lustre on the banks of the Oxus. But while Babur was little more than a youth the house of Timur had already begun to totter, and the end of the fifteenth century saw the transfer of royal power from Transoxiana to the cities of Persia proper, where the Safavid kings, with their capital at Tabriz, held their court amidst much splendour and artistic wealth. While it was the blood and traditions of the Timurids that the Mughals brought with them to India, it was the contemporary civilization of Persia from which they were to draw much of their inspiration in learning and in art. Correctly to appreciate the influences which were to have such a marked effect on the pictorial art of India, a sketch of the evolution of Persian painting will be first outlined; and this will be followed by a brief description of the state of painting in India leading up to the time when the art of the two races came into contact.

Among the many beautiful arts that were practised in certain famous cities of Eastern Asia, few attained a higher state of refinement, during a period that extended from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, than that of book illustrating. Manuscripts, finely written, and lavishly illuminated, found great favour with the ruling princes, who vied with one another in encouraging the production of such works of art. These manuscripts were often freely embellished with pictures illustrating the text, so that the brush of the painter was as much in demand as the pen of the writer. The cities chiefly famed for those proficient in the painter's craft were Baghdad, Basrah, and Wasit in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Samarqand, Bukhara, and Herat in the fifteenth century, and Tabriz, Kazvin, Ispahan, and Shiraz in the sixteenth century. This art of illustration, which was distributed over a wide area, has been generally described by modern European writers as 'Persian painting'. For several reasons a classification of this art into definite

schools has presented unusual difficulties, one illustration of which will explain. It was customary in mediaeval times for poets and painters, writers and musicians, to be attached to courts, thus forming part of the brilliant assembly of talent which usually surrounded the throne of an Eastern potentate. In the rare periods of peace, men of genius were free to take service under any prince or noble who could show them the most generous patronage. But in times of war or invasion they were too often treated as treasured chattels, sometimes bartered as part of an indemnity, or more often carried away to distant lands to grace the capital of the conqueror. The intrinsic value of the leading calligrapher at the Safavid court was actually estimated by one of the Mughal emperors, for when Jahangir heard of the death of Mir 'Imad, he is said to have wept for grief, exclaiming that 'if Shah Abbas had sent him to me I would have paid his weight in pearls for him'.¹ But, as we shall see, Jahangir was an enthusiast and regarded the artistic gift as 'more precious than rubies'. Learning, and the arts especially, did not always grow naturally like a language, but developed very much on the lines of patronage; talent often travelled far to find the home where it would be most highly appreciated. In these circumstances a geographical reference has been considered by most authorities to be the soundest basis for a definition of Persian painting. Even in such a classification, however, one fact must be borne in mind. It will be noticed that of the centres of the art of painting enumerated above, only four are situated within the dominions of modern Persia. Baghdad, Wasit, and Basrah are in Mesopotamia, Samarqand and Bukhara are in Turkestan, while Herat is in Afghanistan. But during one of its most famous periods, in the first centuries of the Christian era, the Persian empire, under the Sasanid dynasty, included all of these within its boundaries, as its territories extended from the Tigris on the west to the Oxus on the east. In its widest sense, therefore, to allude to the painting of these cities as Persian is historically correct.

Persian painting has been resolved into several broad chronological divisions, the three most important being the Mongol, the Timurid, and Safavid. Previous to the Mongol, and up to the middle of the thirteenth century, a style of painting was practised in Mesopotamia which may be classed as Primitive. Then ensued the Mongol from 1250 to 1360, a century of infinite importance, as it brought into the art of painting new elements from the Far East. This was succeeded by the Timurid, which flourished at Samarqand, Bukhara, and Herat, from 1375 to 1500, gradually merging into the Safavid,

¹ Martin, vol. i, p. 122.

with its principal seat at Tabriz. Under the Safavid dynasty during the sixteenth century it reached its most mature state, only to decline rapidly in the seventeenth century. A short account of these different phases of Persian painting will give an outline of the progress of the art until it sent out its offshoot to Hindustan.

The earliest chapters of Persian painting are mainly records of destruction. The history of Central Asia is a repetition of hordes of invaders sweeping from east to west, or west to east, leaving desolation and devastation in their train. The first result of these great martial migrations was to destroy the civilization of the countries invaded, to sack and burn their cities, to decimate their people, and to obliterate their handiwork. Then, if conditions were favourable and circumstances permitted, there was erected on the ashes of the old a new civilization, expressive in its arts and sciences of the mentality of the conquerors, their religion, and their mode of life. Such was the Arab invasion of Persia in the seventh century of the Christian era. Bearing the victorious pennant of the Prophet, these early Muslims swept down on the 'seven cities' of the Sasanids, taking them by storm, carrying off their rich contents, and leaving behind nothing but ruin and decay. Of that powerful dynasty, of its architecture and its arts, practically nothing has survived, except that great lonely arch on the Tigris at Ctesiphon, as a record of its pride. So completely has the art of Persia of this period vanished that it is only here and there that its *motifs* can be identified. But reminiscences of it are to be traced in the painting of the Persians at a later date, in the flying ribbon-like draperies, probably also in the figures with wings, and certainly in the winged horse, dragons, and fabulous creatures occasionally seen in the designs of the mediaeval East and West. These particular *motifs*, however, were those used mainly in the arts of Western Persia, as they were practised in the now ruined cities of Mesopotamia. The art of the Arab conquerors which developed later on the banks of the Tigris, while it took something from the Sasanid civilization it had destroyed, probably owed much more to another school of painting, which developed in Central Asia about this time. To understand this it is necessary for us, for the time being, to transfer our attention from the Tigris and Euphrates, on the western limits of ancient Persia, to the territory beyond its far eastern boundaries on the confines of the Chinese empire. Here in Eastern Turkestan, in a tract of country referred to as the Tarim Basin, from the third to the ninth century A. D. a state of civilization was maintained, and an artistic culture generated, which was to influence in no slight degree the arts of the whole East.

The existence of the school of painting, for it specialized in this form of expression, only recently brought to light in one of the most desolate portions of Asia, needs some explanation. The cities of the Tarim Basin lay athwart the overland route connecting the Far East with the rest of the then known world. This highway, as a means of communication, has now lost its significance, but in the first millennium of the Christian era much of the traffic of the occident with the orient passed through this portion of Turkestan. Not only merchants with caravans of negotiable commodities, but pilgrims and embassies, courts and officials, travellers and priests, journeyed to and fro over this broad thoroughfare. But what made that section of the route which centred around the Tarim river of some consequence, and led to considerable human activity in that region, was that here lay the most important junction of the whole highway. Here two great arteries met, the main one which ran east and west joining with a branch which came up from the south through the passes of the Hindu Kush from India. For several centuries during the first millennium of the Christian era one of the pulses of the orient throbbed in the busy towns of the Tarim Basin, where commerce and agriculture flourished and the trades and occupations depending on them thrived. But in these living cities the material needs of man were not the only consideration. Here, owing to the cosmopolitan nature of its population, men of many creeds fongathered, and to minister to these a number of religious establishments were maintained, some of them lavishly endowed. Monasteries and temples were founded ; and one feature of these buildings was the rich mural painting with which many of them were embellished. But the main interest of these wall decorations lies in the fact that they depict so many divergent creeds, and, accordingly, elements from as many different arts. Here are pictures of Chinese character, provincialized it is true, but showing a connexion with those of the T'ang period. With these may be seen motives taken direct from Grecian sources, Christian art brought by the Manichaeans, who carried their tenets into this distant field. Sasanid features may also be distinguished, showing the artistic influence of ancient Persia extended well beyond its borders. And side by side with these are paintings whose origin was in the distant south, reflecting the frescoes of Ajanta, the Buddhism of India. The spade of the excavator has revealed traces of other religious and artistic movements, all of which show that this comparatively small expanse of country, now swallowed up by desert sand, was the meeting place of many of the cultures of the East and West. That it was no

insignificant outpost, at least so far as painting was concerned, is proved by its relations with the art of China. In the seventh century Khotan, south of the Tarim Basin, contributed two very famous artists to the Chinese schools of the Sui and T'ang dynasties, the Wei-ch'ih, father and son, whose names occupy a high place in the early annals of painting in the Far East. This development of art in Turkestan, which drew its inspiration from so many different sources, was, however, more of the nature of an 'artistic exchange' than a definite school of painting. It was not what it produced itself, so much as its effect on the countries around it, that gives it importance in the history of art in Asia. And something of its composite character, carried along the great eastern trade-route, eventually found its way into the artistic schemes of the Arabs, when these early followers of the Prophet began to build up their own civilization on the low-lying banks of the Tigris.

From this and other sources the material was brought which formed the foundations of the Persian illustrator's art. But it was not until the twelfth century that we meet with the first actual examples of his brush, in a group of rare manuscripts executed at Baghdad, Wasit, and Basrah on the Tigris. By this time the descendants of the Arabs who had destroyed the empire of the Sasanids had in their turn established their own magnificent cities in Mesopotamia, where, under the sumptuous rule of the Caliphs, art again flourished. The few pictures that have survived from this early period are in a distinctive style, and have been broadly referred to as Arab or Primitive. Although some of these date from the twelfth century, the best work was produced under the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad in the thirteenth century. One famous manuscript is Schefer's *Hariri*,¹ prepared in A. D. 1237, from the numerous illustrations of which it is possible to realize fully the character of the Arab or Primitive style. One sees in these pictures a determined effort on the part of the artists to pick up the threads of pictorial art again, especially the representation of human and living forms, after the first destructive period of the Arabs had passed. The style of workmanship is crude and archaic, but the compositions are full of spirit and vigour, being graphic illustrations of the life and appearance of the people of the time. The Arabs had no traditional pictorial art of their own, and accordingly drew upon the art of other people for their material, and utilized craftsmen from other countries to assist them in giving expression to their ideas. In the *Hariri* pictures therefore, while much may be discerned that is genuinely

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe, No. 5847.

indigenous, there is also much that has been borrowed from other schools. Where the artist was engaged in representing scenes from desert life, the intimate knowledge of the Arab is plainly visible, in his drawing of the horse and the camel, the ass and all beasts of burden; in his truthful delineation of these, the Mesopotamian illustrator has rarely been excelled. But blended with this ingenuous naturalism are stiff and studied elements from a remote classical source, copied from contemporary Byzantine art, and transformed in a variety of ways to comply with the requirements of the Caliph's creed. The nimbus, the saintly vestments, columned porticoes, and many other accessories associated with the mosaics of the basilicas, were introduced into these Islamic manuscripts by the adaptable hands of Syrian Christian illuminators engaged by the Abbasids to work under their orders. The treatment of the vestments in these Arab pictures shows how the exquisite drawing of the Greeks had by constant copying become so conventionalized as to lose all resemblance to drapery and to assume the appearance of the petals of a flower or the vein markings of a leaf. It is, however, in their occasional reminiscences of the art of the Buddhists that these Abbasid manuscripts have a special interest, thus showing that the influence of the fresco painting of India had reached not only to Turkestan in the north and China in the east, but as far as Baghdad in the west. We see dark-skinned monks in Indian garments, with haloes, posed in the Buddha attitudes, seated in Arab bazaars, their features and clothing contrasting strongly with the Semitic profiles and gown-like costumes of the other people in the picture. These are followed by more Indian figures in coloured loin-cloths, gold bangles around their wrists, gathered around a shrine and looking as if they had stepped down from the walls of Ajanta itself.

Such was the general character of the Arab illustrated manuscripts of the thirteenth century, a striking attempt at a revival of pictorial art evincing in their intention a naïve sincerity which promised much. But whether these early attempts would have developed on natural lines into a definite school will never be known, for in 1258 Baghdad, and the culture that it represented, was destroyed, and the progress of art in Persia received another check. The force that swept away the Arab régime on the Tigris came this time from the East, and was a political convulsion which changed the whole aspect of civilization in the Orient. This was the invasion of the Mongols. The course of the Central Asian hordes, gathering momentum as they swept across the continent, was, in its first phase, like that of the Arabs, one of the most appalling destruction. In

their primitive state these barbarians had little use for the refinements of any form of civilized life, and resented them in others. Fortunately after a time this stage passed away, and, as they became less nomadic, their spirit craved for something of a more permanent nature than the tented city of their earlier days. Having no artistic attainments of their own, they were compelled to go to those whom they had conquered for the embellishment of their courts, and all the arts of peace. The first country to feel the Mongol influence, when these tribes broke away from their pasturage on the Central Asian steppes, was China. To this artistic people, therefore, the Mongols soon began to look for aesthetic inspiration, employing Chinese painters and craftsmen, even carrying them away in the course of their triumphant progress, to distant capitals to decorate their palaces and adorn their halls. In this manner was brought about that similarity which is noticeable in the arts of the east and west of Asia during the Mongolian era. For the time being the greater part of the continent was under the rule of one house, and interchange of thought over wide areas became an easy matter. While Persia was imbibing the art of the Far East as practised under the Sung dynasty, so Chinese artists were probably drawing something from the west. We see this in the thirteenth-century painting of Ch'ien Hsuan, and also in the early porcelain of China which was decorated sometimes with panels of a Kufic script. But the fusion of the arts of Asia under the Mongol flux had another result. Persia had previously looked mainly westward for inspiration, drawing it indirectly from European sources ; but from now onward for several centuries it turned its back deliberately on the Occident, and looked steadfastly towards the rising sun. From this time the schools of China were its classics, and to these it owes much of the spirit of its art. From China were brought many cunning workmen skilled in all industries, decorators in glaze, embroiderers and painters. One of the Mongol Khans, Hulagu, is said to have imported over a hundred families of Chinese artisans and craftsmen to his court in Persia to carry out his artistic schemes. Settling down in the bazaars of Iran they carried on their trade exactly as they had done for centuries in Peking, except that they adapted their designs to the requirements of their Mongol overlords. And on occasion, consignments of Chinese art, paintings and porcelain, metal-work and carved wood, would arrive by caravan at the western capitals of the Mongol empire to be applied to the buildings, to decorate the interiors, or to grace the festive entertainments of the ruling Khans. Thus by the fourteenth century Persian art had become a provincialized form

of the Chinese, as much of the later painting of the Persian Mongol school testifies. Plate I is an example of the illustrative art of this period. It is a picture taken from a fragmentary manuscript in the Rampur State Library dealing with the history of the Mongols, and depicts a state ceremony. Friar Odoric's account of his visit to the Court of Yisun Timur about 1325 describes the scene. 'When the Khakan sat on his throne the queen was on his left hand, and a step lower down two others of his women, while at the bottom of the steps stood the other ladies of his family. All those who were married wore upon their heads the foot of a man as it were, a cubit and a half in length, and at the top of the foot there were certain crane's feathers, the whole foot being set with great pearls, so that if there were in the whole world any fine and large pearls they were to be found in the decoration of those ladies. . . . Below stand all those who are of the blood royal . . . and in front of the king stand his barons and others, an innumerable multitude.'¹ This illustration, therefore, has two interests. It is not only a prototype of the Mughal painter's art, but also depicts a Mongol progenitor of the dynasty which introduced Persian painting into Hindustan.

Persian art remained in the manner described under Chinese-Mongol influence for a hundred years, but its association with the art of the Far East displayed itself long after the Mongol rule had passed away. The importance of this intercourse should be fully realized, as it explains much of the character of the Persian and Indian work which followed. It brought into Persian painting, and, indirectly, into the miniatures of India, that calligraphic outline which is one of its most distinguishing features. More than that, it stimulated the drawing of the figure, and especially gave to it that rhythmic quality and flowing contour which it retained from this time onward throughout its course. Under the Mongols the centres of the art, which, as we have seen were previously located on the Tigris, were moved to the seats of the Khans in Northern Persia. It is probable that most of the paintings of the Perso-Mongol style were executed either at Maraghah in Azarbaijan, Sultania, or Tabriz, where the courts were mainly held. But the next phase of the art developed much farther east, in the cities of the Oxus—Bukhara and Samarqand. Here, amidst the chaos caused by the disintegration of the Mongol empire in the later half of the fourteenth century, a new power arose, which was to have a marked effect on the political situation of Persia, and of Asia generally. The central figure of this movement was the Amir Timur—Tamerlane—one of the most

¹ Travels of Friar Odoric, in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. ii. pp. 223-4.

ruthless despots Asia has ever produced. But although an iconoclast, where religions other than his own were concerned, Timur was, in his capital at Samarqand, a great patron of learning and the arts. This appreciation of the intellectual talents of others, which compensates not a little for the immense destruction he brought about in other countries, especially in India, was not confined only to the founder of the dynasty. It was the family heritage of the Timurids, as several of his descendants brought even greater lustre to this great name by their marked interest in all forms of culture and refinement. And this tradition was carried by a scion of his house, the chivalrous Babur, to India, to produce two centuries later the art of the Mughals. In view, therefore, of its direct bearing on the painting of India, the Timurids, and the art that they so magnificently developed, may be more fully described.

Although there is no actual record of Timur's personal interest in the art of painting, his patronage showed itself in other ways, in the encouragement of poets, musicians, and philosophers who flocked to his brilliant court, and in the magnificent style in which he built and embellished his capital at Samarqand. Architecture, under this dynasty, was regarded as the noblest of all the arts, and the cities of the Timurids, sumptuously planned as they were, undoubtedly laid the foundation of the notable aesthetic movement that was to follow. The first prince of this royal line to maintain painters at his court was Shah Rukh. He was Timur's favourite son, and ruled at Herat, but his authority extended over the whole of Persia. Shah Rukh himself was a man of scholarship, a song-writer of no mean order, but he specially concerned himself with the achievements of other countries. In 1419 he sent a well-equipped mission to China, and later, one to India, with instructions that its members were to keep a journal noting all that was remarkable in each town and each province through which they passed. With the embassy to China was included an artist, Ghiyath ud-din Khalil, an expert with the brush, and one of the earliest Persian painters to be mentioned by name. The artistic connexion with the schools of the Far East, begun by the Mongols, was therefore continued under the Timurids, for Babur in describing one of the mosques of Samarqand does not fail to remark that it was adorned with Chinese pictures. Although Shah Rukh's reign was a record of artistic encouragement, he was succeeded by several princes of the house of Timur, who equalled if not excelled him as patrons of learning and especially as ardent bibliophiles. At Astarabad, Baisunghar, a son of Shah Rukh, retained forty artists all employed in copying or illustrating manu-

scripts under the supervision of Maulana Ja'far, one of the leading illuminators of the day. The work of the painters in the service of this prince was of sufficient importance to be referred to by later writers as the Baisunghar school. Ulugh Beg, another son, was a distinguished scholar, and did much to enrich Samarqand, and also Marv, with colleges and libraries. At Bukhara, too, learning flourished, and, later, painting was developed to such an extent that this city also has given its name to a school of illustrative art. But it was left to the state of Khurasan, when this was governed by the Sultan Husain Mirza, towards the end of the fifteenth century, to make the most notable contribution to the rising fame of the Persian school. At the court of this ruler, who was a great-grandson of Timur's son 'Umar Shaikh, was gathered a galaxy of talent, renowned poets such as Jami and Hatifi, historians such as Mir Khwand and his grandson Khwandamir, with many others whose names are treasured in the literary annals of the East. But the greatest of all this brilliant gathering was the painter Bihzad. What Raphael was to the art of Europe, Bihzad was to the art of Asia, so that he has been fittingly referred to as the 'Raphael of the East'. It is doubtful whether the history of art records any other single individual who has exercised a more direct influence on the graphic art of his time than Bihzad. He had numerous pupils and followers, some of whom, such as Aga Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, and Mirza Ali, assimilated much of his excellence, but none of them ever attained the exquisite drawing or superb colouring of this great master of the craft, an example of whose work is reproduced in Plate II. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Persian character observable in the painting of India during the Mughal period came straight from the hand of Bihzad. Pictures by Mir Sayyid Ali, the leading Persian painter in India in the service of the Mughals, whose father was a contemporary of, and worked with, Bihzad, are referred to by most authorities as in the style of this master. But it was in the subject of portraiture, one of the most striking developments of the Mughal art, that the Indian school shows its closest affinity with the productions of Sultan Husain's protégé. Previous to the appearance of Bihzad, Persian painters had displayed no special gift for portraiture, although it was exceedingly popular with their patrons. These had to be content with rather crude attempts at likenesses on the part of their court artists, spirited productions depicting the general features of the sitter, but in no sense finished specimens of the portrait painter's art. The faces they drew were what is known as the 'impersonal' type, that is to say, the facial outlines of each

person represented were fundamentally very much alike, being distinguished only by the addition of one or two special details peculiar to the individual concerned. For instance, all women's faces were exactly similar except for differences in the coiffure and other minor accessories, while men had the addition of a beard or moustache, but little else in the features to discriminate one from the other. The advent of Bihzad changed all this. His genius freed the art of portraiture from this impersonal convention, bringing into it life and character by means of his exquisite drawing and modelling. Some of the finest pictures of the Persian school are Bihzad's portraits of his patron and members of his court. The art of producing a likeness therefore came fully developed to India, and accounts to some extent for the wholly matured school of portraiture which flourished under the Mughals.

In 1506 Bihzad's patron, the Sultan Husain, under whom he had worked for some thirty years, died, and the artist then entered the service of a new ruler of Persia, Shah Ismail. Thus imperceptibly the Timurid painting of Persia merged into that of the Safavid. For, as we have seen, the Sultan was a descendant of Timur, while the Shah, a man of an entirely different origin and mode of thought, was the founder of the Safavid dynasty. With the rise of this régime a change came over the political, social, and religious atmosphere of the country, which soon reacted on the character of its art. The Safavid rulers were a race of national monarchs, true Persians by birth and temperament. They practised Sufism, a manifestation of Muhammadanism from which the dynasty took its name. To appreciate the painting of this time it is necessary to understand a few of the main principles of Sufism. The original intention of this religious movement was to induce a life of asceticism ; its doctrine was a form of mystic philosophy in which its followers professed a state of ' dying to self and living in God '. It made its tenets known mainly through poetry, the writers of which in order to find suitable expression frequently referred to the pleasures of love and wine ; for, according to its expounders, human love leads to divine love, and wine to a condition of ecstasy. In the course of time these original ideals became obscured through the poetical analogies being misunderstood, as much of the Safavid painting plainly shows. It is hardly necessary to point out that the contrast between the mental outlook of the Timurids and that of the Safavids was immense. There is reason to believe that the growth and popularity of Sufism at this time was a revolt against the materialism of the Timurids. The effect of this new school of thought upon the painting of the

country may be imagined. It is true that in the pictures of Bihzad little change is apparent. He was an elderly man when it came ; and besides he was too great a master to be diverted by events even of this magnitude. But on the art of some of his followers it had considerable influence. In this way there came into being the Safavid school of painting, which, actively encouraged by Shah Tahmasp, the second ruler of the dynasty, produced at Tabriz, Herat, and Shiraz a large amount of illustrative work. Its character may be judged by referring to Plate III, Fig. 1, which is a typical example of the Safavid style of painting in the middle of the sixteenth century. There is no mistaking the figure-drawing of this period, even if one has not the distinctive head-dress as a guide. The court scenes are rich and varied in colour and composition, but it is in the single-figure subjects, as in Plate III, Fig. 2, that the artists show the true nature of the Sufi. Young men reclining under sprays of almond blossom, swains composing poems to their loves in gardens of flowers, musicians dreamily playing on lutes by the side of purling streams, drinking scenes, feasting scenes, and all that one associates with a life of sensuousness and self-indulgence are depicted in the art of this period. Exquisite though they may be, the Safavid pictures, especially under Shah Abbas towards the end of the sixteenth century, display a sense of over-richness which was a premonition of the decline of the school. And the decline came, followed, as is its wont, by an attempt at a renaissance. In the first half of the seventeenth century an artist of the name of Ali Riza Abbasi of Tabriz endeavoured to bring about a revival of the earlier and purer style of work, and produced numerous pictures and sketches displaying considerable merit, which have been much sought after by connoisseurs. But Riza died at some time before 1645, and with him died the Persian school of painting, for the pictures executed in the country since that date have few qualities to commend them. Western influence, acting on every aspect of Persian life, was partly responsible for this decay ; but the art of the country had already fallen from its high estate. European contact merely hastened the end.

From this brief account of the evolution of painting in Persia, we may now turn to India and endeavour to follow the progress of this art during the corresponding periods of time. The origin of Indian painting does not begin with the Buddhist frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh. These wonderful wall pictures emerge too fully matured to be regarded as the first stages of the art. Long before the Buddhist artist priest perfected his style of work, painting was extensively

practised in India, as many references in ancient literature plainly indicate. Nevertheless these pictures of the first centuries of the Christian era are the earliest actual examples of Indian painting that have survived. Of the Buddhist school of painting much might be written, but here it will suffice to say that it formed undoubtedly the foundation of the pictorial art of India in all its succeeding phases. The outstanding feature of these frescoes is their 'Indianness', for, with the exception of a few extraneous elements, they are essentially Indian in character, expressing in the most truthful manner the life of the time. In figure-drawing, in costume, in scenes from nature, in all the accessories introduced by these skilful artists, it is India and all that appertains to the Indian people that are depicted. And this indigenous character, this 'Indianness', is the same as persists and is so plainly discernible in the miniatures of the Hindu artists who worked under the Mughal emperor Akbar nine centuries later. These two styles of work in many respects are poles asunder. Nothing could be more dissimilar than the spacious wall paintings of the Buddhists and the minute book illustrations of the Mughal school; in subject, in intention, in sentiment, in every outward form, they are different, yet underlying each is something of the same spirit, something which reflects in both forms of expression the mind of the same artist. Except for this indefinable sense of co-relation, there is, however, little else to connect these two schools of painting. During the long interval that elapsed between them there is but a small amount of material forthcoming, either literary or artistic, to enable us to construct even the semblance of a bridge between the two. Very gradually, however, evidence is coming to light, which may help to fill this wide lacuna, but at present only sufficient has been collected to produce the barest outlines of the story. Of the actual examples of Indian painting executed during the early mediaeval period few have survived. Their scarcity is due to three causes, firstly, the impermanent nature of the art itself; secondly, the action of the climate; and thirdly, the element of human destruction. The first two causes were inevitable, but the last, which was intentional, was the most disastrous of all. What oriental art lost by the tide of religious antagonism which swept over Asia in the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages will never be known. Its parallel had, however, already occurred in the West. What the world lost when the pagan art of classical Europe was condemned by Christianity is also beyond comprehension. But in both continents, on the ruins of the past, new art movements arose which show that expression cannot be suppressed. It is an irony of fate that from the

chronicles of one who prided himself on his iconoclastic zeal not a little information as to the extent of the artistic wealth of India at this period may be gleaned. In the first years of the eleventh century Mahmud of Ghazni, a Muhammadan ruler in Afghanistan, made seventeen attacks on India, the main object of each being the plunder of its sacred edifices. Mahmud was a man of culture in his own dominions, gathering around him to grace his court talented men from many countries, but his attitude towards the people of India displayed a religious fanaticism which knew no bounds. Some of the experiences of this 'Idol-Smasher', for such he gloried in being called, as recorded by his own hand according to the historian Farishta, while intended primarily as a note of exultation at the value of his booty, also throw some light on the prolific nature of the arts of the country at this time. Mathura, a place of great sanctity, which he sacked in the year 1019, he thus describes: 'This marvellous city encloses more than a thousand structures, the greater number in marble and as firmly established as the faith of the true believers. If we reckon the money which all these monuments must have cost, it will not be too much to estimate it at several millions of dinars, and moreover it must be said that such a city could not be built even in two centuries. In the pagan temples my soldiers found five idols of gold, whose eyes were formed of rubies of the value of 50,000 dinars, another idol wore as an ornament a sapphire, weighing 400 miskals, and the image itself, when melted, yielded 98 miskals of pure gold. We found besides a hundred silver idols representing as many camel loads.' Mahmud encountered the same wonders in all the cities he passed through. On the expedition which he made in 1024, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the temple of Somnāth in Gujarāt, he found a wonderful religious edifice whose fifty-six pillars were covered with plates of gold and had precious stones scattered all about them; thousands of statues of gold and silver surrounded the sanctuary.

Although Mahmud's account confines itself mainly to the intrinsic, rather than the artistic, value of his spoil, as would be expected from such a bigot, it is not difficult to see that the India of his time was a veritable museum of fine and applied art. That painting existed on the walls of the magnificent buildings thus described, and that it did not escape the desecrating hand of the iconoclast, may also be inferred. As an illustration of Muslim feeling on this point a later episode may be cited. In the fourteenth century Firoz Shah Tughlaq, one of the most enlightened and tolerant of Muhammadan rulers in Hindustan, showed a marked antipathy to the

painting of the Hindus. While he encouraged them in architecture, as buildings erected during his reign amply testify, he deliberately destroyed their painting, because in this form of art 'figures and especially pagan saints' predominated. It is more than probable that those of Mahmud's time met the same fate. There is considerable literary evidence to show that the kind of painting obliterated by Firoz Shah was very common all over India, pictures of the Hindu pantheon being painted on the walls of most of the sacred buildings, particularly at the time immediately preceding the founding of the Mughal empire. Niccolò Conti, a Venetian traveller who visited India in the early part of the fifteenth century, specially notes that all over the country he found temples the interiors of which were painted with figures of different kinds. But it was left to the Persian mission of Shah Rukh, previously mentioned, to describe definitely this aspect of Indian temple decoration. The leading member of the party was an educated and observant Persian of the name of 'Abd ur-Razzaq, whose investigations took him over parts of southern India from the year 1442 to 1444. He was much impressed by the lavish display of pictorial art in all the religious edifices he visited, and remarks on those at the temple of Belur as follows : ' So great a number of pictures and figures have been drawn by the pen and pencil, that it would be impossible, in the space of a month, to sketch it all upon damask or taffeta. From the bottom of the building to the top there is not a hand's breadth to be found uncovered with paintings ', adding that ' all the other buildings, great and small, are covered with paintings and sculptures of extreme delicacy '. Further, with regard to the style of this work, he states rather vaguely that it was executed ' after the manner of the Franks (Europeans) and the people of Khata (China) '.¹ It would be interesting to know what 'Abd ur-Razzaq actually meant by this criticism. That there was something strangely occidental in these paintings is proved by an ingenuous commentary on the Persian's description in the account of an incident which took place about fifty years after his visit. When the first Portuguese expedition to reach India landed in 1498, Vasco da Gama and his men, concluding all the inhabitants save the Muhammadans were Christians, actually worshipped in a Hindu temple near Calicut, though it is true some of the party ' thought the frescoes of the saints rather unusual '.²

¹ *India in the Fifteenth Century* (Hakluyt Society), pp. 21, 22. *do descobrimento e conquista da India*, vol. iii, p. 130.

² Castanheda, Fernao Lopez de, *Historia*

These contemporary references to the state of painting in India previous to the sixteenth century may be supplemented by an account of the few actual examples of the art which have survived. Of the great mass of wall painting executed after the Buddhist period, implied by the foregoing descriptions, practically nothing is left. At Ellora, in the famous rock-cut temples, there are remains of Brahminical frescoes of the twelfth century, executed in a style which shows that the traditions of Ajanta were still living at this date. On the walls of some of the palaces of Rājputāna there are paintings which may have been executed previous to the founding of the Mughal empire, but this field awaits exploration. This disposes of the whole of the mural decorations at present known to us. There were, however, other means than that of painting on structural surfaces by which the Indian artist might have expressed himself with the brush. Of these there are a few literary references, as well as concrete examples. According to a Chinese writer of the eleventh century at the monastery of Nalanda in Bihar the priests 'painted pictures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas on the linen of the West',¹ obviously the same art as that of the *tangka* or temple-banner of Tibet. None of these painted fabrics has been preserved, but on the other hand there are a few rare examples of illustrated books of the pre-Mughal era which have escaped destruction. Several of these are Jain manuscripts on paper containing pictures of the fifteenth century, but they are crudely painted, and show little evidence of artistic experience. Paper, as explained elsewhere, found small favour with the Indian people, either for commercial, literary, or pictorial purposes, until brought into common use by the Mughals. Its place was taken by the palm-leaf, on which the writing was executed by means of a pointed iron style. Some of these palm-leaf manuscripts were illustrated, and a few, with Buddhist miniatures of the twelfth century, have been handed down to us. It seems fairly clear, however, that there was a very limited amount of painting executed in mediaeval India on any other surface than that of the walls of buildings.

As already indicated, the meagre amount of material provided by these somewhat disconnected facts and isolated examples makes the story of the progress of Indian painting largely one of conjecture. The condition of the art at the time of Babur's invasion of Hindustan is also a matter of surmise. To summarize, it seems probable that the tradition of the Buddhist frescoes was still

¹ The *Hua chi* by Têng Ch'un; see *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, by Giles (Quaritch, London, 1918), p. 157.

maintained, but hardly in its original form. The painting, instead of being applied to the living rock, as at Ajanta and other sites, was adapted to the surface of structural edifices, and so perished when these buildings decayed. Moreover, some alterations in the technical process employed in painting these pictures on prepared masonry may have taken place, and the more permanent method of fresco have given way to a less reliable form of *tempera*, which, under the climatic conditions prevailing in most parts of India, would readily deteriorate. Most of the large buildings, both religious and secular, were decorated in this manner, and the art found employment for a considerable number of people. In the embellishment of the sacred edifices, selections from the holy books of the Hindus were illustrated, extensive compositions comprising many figures and much symbolism. Of the painting in the palaces of the ruling princes it appears that portraiture was most popular, as it is recorded that Firoz Shah in the fourteenth century, while holding that it 'was right among monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement, . . . prohibited the painting of portraits, as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead'.¹ When the Mughals therefore began, as we shall see, in the sixteenth century, to turn their attention to the revival of painting in India, they found that, while the indigenous art was from political reasons in a state of atrophy, there still survived a strong living tradition among the people of the country on which the movement that they had in contemplation might be most surely founded.

¹ Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Elliot, iii, p. 363.



XXXI

**Processional scene at the court of Jahangir ; painted by Manohar C. A.D. 1605
Rampur State Library ; size $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 13''$.**

II

BABUR ; HUMAYUN ; AKBAR

IN the previous chapter the course and character of the two schools of painting, Persian and Indian, have been outlined ; while the general circumstances which brought the former art into Hindustan have also been noticed. But the fact that a country was invaded, and a dynasty founded, does not necessarily imply that these events, politically important though they might be, were accompanied by a revival of the arts, especially by the formation of a school of painting as distinctive as that of the Mughals. Something more was required ; and this was provided by the intensely artistic nature of the Mughal emperors themselves. With such a tradition as that of the Timurids, an intelligent patronage of the arts naturally followed. But added to this there was the personal element, which showed itself distinctly in each succeeding phase of the painting of the Mughal school. The dynasty as a whole was so keenly interested in the arts that each emperor, as he came into power, put something of himself into the painting of his reign. To follow the development of Mughal painting, therefore, it is necessary to understand something of the individual temperament of those monarchs who did so much for its encouragement.

It must be admitted that Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, had on the whole a somewhat unfavourable opinion of India ; and, on more than one occasion, expressed himself with feeling on the barrenness of the country and the shortcomings of its people. From this emperor's famous *Memoirs*¹ it is clear that he had not sufficient sympathy with the aspirations of his subjects to appreciate properly their intellectual qualities or their handiwork. He had too recently left the polished courts of his ancestors in Turkestan, with their brilliant array of talent, literary and artistic, to discern much virtue in what he considered the crude efforts of the Hindus. Rarely does he make any reference to the art of painting in his autobiography, and then only in a desultory way. Nevertheless Babur's influence on the artistic development of India was immense, although this did not show itself during his lifetime. To explain this it will be necessary to realize something of the strength

¹ *Babur's Memoirs*, translated by Leyden and Erskine, London, 1826.

of this monarch's character and the versatility of his genius. Babur stands out in high relief as one of the most remarkable men Asia has ever produced. His ancestry was a distinguished one. On his father's side he was a direct descendant in the fifth generation from the Amir Timur, while he was connected through his mother with the famous Mongol Chinghiz Khan. With the blood of these two great families in his veins it is not to be wondered at that Babur developed early into a man of outstanding ability. As a young man he succeeded his father, 'Umar Shaikh Mirza, in the sovereignty of Farghana, the eastern portion of Timur's dominions. His extreme youth, however, forbade him to assert his authority over a group of powerful nobles who had usurped every species of power, and eventually he was driven from his kingdom. After years of adventure, and repeated efforts to regain the throne of his fathers, he was obliged to give up the contest, and to turn to other fields to find an outlet for his unbounded energies. An opportunity soon presented itself. In the stern diplomatic school in which he had been trained, he had acquired a shrewd knowledge of Asian affairs; and when the time for a decision arrived, his mind reverted instinctively to India. What followed is told in his own words: 'In the year 1525, when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on my march to invade Hindustan'. How this expedition, so simply set down in his *Memoirs*, prospered, so that within a year he was seated on the throne of Delhi, there to found the Mughal empire, is outside the scope of this work. But the high courage and indomitable will that animated this enterprise, and the fine mental qualities that he showed in this and throughout the whole of his career, are frequently recalled by the characteristic actions of his successors, who were touched with his spirit. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that, as Babur's ideals were their guide, so his culture which he bequeathed to them inspired that appreciation of art and learning which marks the finest period of their rule.

For a bare list of this emperor's attainments it is only necessary to refer to his cousin, Mirza Haider, who was himself a famous writer of the time. After stating that he was 'adorned with various virtues and clad with numberless excellencies, above all which towered bravery and humanity', this genuine admirer goes on to say that 'in the composition of Turki poetry he was second only to Amir Ali Shir. He has written a *divan* in the purest and most lucid Turki. He invented a style of verse called *mubayyan*, and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote an essay on Turki prosody, more

elegant than any other, and versified the *Risala-i-Validiyya* of his Holiness. Then there is his *Waqā'i*, or *Turki Memoirs*, written in a simple, unaffected, yet very pure style. He excelled in music and other arts. Indeed no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor did any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures.' Added to this he was a learned philosopher, a mighty hunter, an enthusiastic traveller, an insatiable sightseer, an eager student of the habits and appearance of animals and birds, and especially devoted to flowers, gardens, and the beauties of nature. And above all he was—there is no other word for it—a born artist—as shown on almost every page of his own memoirs. Not that Babur was able to express his artistic ideas in form or colour, although one may recognize a note of regret that such technical skill was denied him; but at all times and seasons his love of scenery, flowers, and natural effects impels him to describe these with a sympathy and intimacy which is a sure sign of the aesthetic mind. If he had not the craftsman's trained hand, he had the artist's eye which enabled him to write so feelingly of the beauty of the camp-fires twinkling below him, like stars reflected in a murky sea, or the mingling of the yellow and red blooms of the *arghwan*, so that he knew no sight in the world to be compared to them. Even when in the direst need he could always find solace in the exquisite growth of some flower, or fruit, or tree, as on a perilous occasion when his life was in immediate danger he lingered in an orchard to write 'one apple-tree had been in excellent bearing. On some branches five or six scattered leaves still remained, and exhibited a beauty which the painter, with all his skill, might attempt in vain to portray'. Here undoubtedly was the aesthetic spirit, which, given opportunity, might have achieved great things. But Babur lived before his time. His life was spent in the tented field, with little prospects of any prolonged period of leisure in which he might have given rein to his artistic inclinations. A picture of him, dictating his memoirs to a scribe, is reproduced on Plate V, but this was most probably painted some seventy years after his death, as there are no definite records of any artists carrying on their craft at the Mughal court during his reign. He died in 1530 at the comparatively early age of forty-seven, in the midst of the task of consolidating his empire, worn out with his exertions, and when the fruits of his labours were almost within his grasp.

Babur was succeeded by his son, Humayun, who, while inheriting many of the agreeable and scholarly attributes of his father, was by no means his equal in character or administrative ability. Possessed

of a charm of manner which never left him even in the darkest moment of his chequered career, he had all the social but few of the political qualities of a king. And the state of the empire demanded the latter more than the former. For ten years he strove to continue the work his father had begun, but in vain—it was beyond his power—and, after a series of defeats he was driven from the throne. From 1540, when forced to fly from Delhi by the Afghan usurper Sher Shah, until he returned again as emperor in 1555, he was a homeless wanderer, a king only in name. To a man of studious disposition, as Humayun undoubtedly was, these years of exile were far from wasted, much of his time being spent in travel, and in a variety of intellectual pursuits. For one whole year he was entertained at the court of Shah Tahmasp of Persia, and his experiences there were destined, at later date, to have an important effect on the arts of Hindustan. Humayun found Persia, under the early rule of the Safavids, an attractive study, as he saw this country at a period when it was rising out of the ruins of the past and endeavouring to assert itself again as a nationality. Its aims and ideals, somewhat sensual as they were, found reflection in its literature and its art. In illustrated books it found one of its means of expression, and in these Shah Tahmasp, under whom Humayun found protection, took no little interest. Stimulated by his patronage, the Safavid school of illuminators produced some of its most brilliant work, while in the pictures that decorated his books the Persian artists were never excelled. It is true that the death of Bihzad, previous to the arrival of Humayun in the country, had deprived the school of its founder, but much of his artistic skill had been bequeathed to his pupils, who well maintained the traditions of their great master. Such giants as Aga Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, and Muzaffar Ali were in their prime, while there were many other able craftsmen, little inferior to these, practising their art in the various ancient Iranic centres of learning. Infected by the aesthetic zeal of his royal host, Humayun spent some time in travelling about the country, visiting its historic cities, conversing with its scholars, listening to its musicians and poets, and making himself known in the studios of its most noted artists.

During the whole of this period of exile, with all his faults, Humayun never lost faith in himself, or gave up the hope of retrieving sooner or later the fallen fortunes of his house. He saw himself again the ruler of his lost empire, surrounded by a throng of savants and artists attracted to his court by the generosity of his patronage. And that this was no idle dream, but a very practical belief, is clear

from his actions. At Tabriz he made the acquaintance of a young painter of the name of Mir Sayyid Ali, whose work even then was causing attention. As one of the illustrators of a sumptuous copy of *Nizāmī's Khamsah*, he had been associated with some of the leading artists of the country, and his work was judged equal to theirs. One of his pictures is reproduced on Plate VI, the subject being an incident in the famous love story of *Laila and Majnun*, an Eastern romance which has been likened in some respects to Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. In the foreground the emaciated form of the hero will be observed, at whom the village boys are energetically throwing stones to show their contempt for his impoverished condition. But the design is full of interesting details, some of which truthfully depict the different occupations of the people of that time. In its treatment it shows how completely Mir Sayyid Ali had absorbed the style of his older contemporaries and had already developed into a finished exponent of the Safavid school. The young artist's training readily explains this. His father, Mir Mansur, who taught him the rudiments of his craft, was also a skilled painter, a native of Badakhshan. Hearing of the famous school at Tabriz, with Bihzad at its head, he took his young son with him and travelled thither, there to make his home. Both father and son thus came under the influence of Bihzad, working in the same atmosphere and assimilating much of his manner and technique. It is not difficult to picture the boy sitting near the leader of the Persian school, watching him lay in his backgrounds or outline his figures with such inimitable skill, and yearning to follow in his footsteps. Here as a younger man he learned to express himself not only by means of the brush but also in verse, for like Michelangelo and Rossetti, Sayyid Ali developed into a poet as well as a painter, and later, under the *takhallus*, or pen-name, of 'Juda'i', he lived to achieve no little fame. In the same city at this time there was also another rising artist, who likewise paid his respects to the exiled king. He was a man from Shiraz, by name Khwajah Abdus Samad, and as versatile as Sayyid Ali, for he too was an expert in two arts, having already made a reputation as a painter and a calligraphist. Added to these attainments, he was a man of some social position, his father being a Wazir to Shah Shuja', the Governor of Shiraz. To both these young and promising artists Humayun seems to have held out definite prospects of employment in his service as soon as he was in a position once more to maintain a court of his own.

But several years elapsed before the Mughal emperor's star was again in the ascendant ; and it was not until 1550 that the two artists

left their native country to join him at Kabul. Here, on the confines of his empire, Humayun re-established some semblance of authority, while awaiting a favourable opportunity to lead his followers into Hindustan and regain his lost kingdom. Although engaged in the preparations for this important event, Humayun found leisure for many peaceful occupations, in which he utilized the services of his artists from Tabriz. It is related¹ that he and his little son Akbar took lessons in drawing and interested themselves generally in the subject of painting. Here also Humayun started Mir Sayyid Ali on a commission that was to last him for the greater part of his life, and that has survived as one of the most valuable records of the early Mughal school. He was ordered to prepare a large and fully illustrated copy of a famous Persian classic, the Amir Hamzah (*Dastan-i-Amir-Hamzah*), the scope of which shows that Humayun was a patron of large ideas. It was to consist of twelve volumes of one hundred folios each, and each folio was to contain an illustration. The whole book therefore when finished would comprise some twelve hundred pictures of an unusually large size, as each page measured 22 inches by 28½. Portions of Mir Sayyid Ali's *magnum opus* have survived, some sixty pages being preserved in the Industrial Museum, Vienna, while twenty-five are in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, at South Kensington, one of which is reproduced on Plate VII. As we learn that, after being engaged on it for seven years, four volumes only were completed, which is at the rate of more than one page a week, it is clear that Mir Sayyid Ali did not do the work single-handed. He and Abdus Samad collaborated; and, with a few assistants, either Persian or Indian, thus brought together, they formed the nucleus of the Mughal school. This beginning would have been further developed by the emperor, had he been allowed the time to devote to it. But arduous days followed, Humayun's dramatic swoop down from his eyry in the Himalayas into the plains of the Punjab took place, and marches and counter-marches were the order of the day. In the end the Mughal wrested the sceptre from the Pathan usurper, and made himself again master of Hindustan. During this time, while battles were being won and lost, and the fate of the empire lay in the balance, the two Persian artists were quietly painting their illustrations of the Amir Hamzah, looking for the day when they would be able to show the progress of the work to their imperial employer. But fate decreed that Humayun should but taste the cup of happiness only to have it dashed from his lips. Within a few

¹ From a note on the copy of the *Timurnāma* in the Public Library, Bankipur, India.

months of having reinstalled himself on the Mughal throne, an accident on the steps of his library at Delhi deprived him of his life.

Information of the untimely death of Humayun was brought post-haste to his young son Akbar, who was campaigning in the foot-hills of the Punjab Himalayas. A picture of the prince receiving the news at Haryana¹ is reproduced on Plate VIII, Fig. 1, and there is no mistaking the look of genuine excitement on the face of the messenger who has brought it. Akbar was enthroned without delay, but almost immediately signs of insubordination became apparent, indicative of the troublous times which lay ahead. The first rebellious act was that of a truculent noble named Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali, who stubbornly refused to obey promptly a summons to the coronation durbar. He was at once arrested, and what might have been a serious mutiny was nipped in the bud. Contemporary records attach considerable importance to this incident and to the quick and effective manner in which it was suppressed, for it is fully described in the *Akbarnāma*,² and it forms the subject of a spirited sketch by the Persian painter Abdus Samad (Plate VIII, Fig. 2), who was probably an eyewitness of the scene. Both artist and historian follow the custom of the age in demeaning and belittling the culprit, who is represented in the picture as a simpering youth, while the loyal chief who arrested him takes the form of a bearded and burly giant. The traitorous noble had been invited to dine, and 'when the festive board was about to be spread, and when he put out his hands to wash them, Tuluq Khan Qochi, who was strong and nimble, behaved dexterously, and coming from behind seized both of Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali's arms, and made him a prisoner'. Much disaffection of a similar nature had to be overcome during the next few years, when the young emperor's energies were entirely occupied in disposing of rival claimants, defining the limits of his imperial control, devising a stable administration, and in general making his position in India tolerably secure. It was natural, therefore, that, while this period of political and military activity prevailed, the arts of peace, as for instance that of painting and the small group of artists brought together by Humayun, should be left very much to themselves; and no great progress was made for the first fifteen years of Akbar's reign. Mir Sayyid Ali, still retained as court painter, continued to produce his illustrations to the Amir Hamzah, when, having finished rather less than half of them, he retired in order to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Later, he re-joined Akbar's service; but in the meantime his brother artist from Shiraz was placed in sole charge of the

¹ *Akbarnāma*, vol. i, p. 662.

² Vol. i, p. 28.

work, which was eventually brought to completion some years afterwards.

The pictures of the Amir Hamzah, with a few others which have been preserved, reveal the character of the art of painting under the Mughals at this early stage. In the main it was Persian, an offshoot of the Safavid school, to which it showed a close affinity, as it was the handiwork of artists trained in the traditions of Bihzad. Mir Sayyid Ali's illustrations of the Persian classic are very much in the style that he learnt as a young man in Tabriz. They are larger because of his patron's somewhat grandiose ideas, and they are on cloth because, as explained elsewhere, paper in India was not easily obtained. Plate IX is another example of a painting executed in Hindustan towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and it is of the same general character. The man on horseback, a Turkoman in face and dress, is the Amir Shaikh Hasan Noyan, a *wāli* (official) of Baghdad, and the picture is sufficiently Persian in appearance to suggest that it might have been painted under the supervision of Sultan Muhammad himself in his studio at Tabriz. But a closer study shows that there is something in this work which is not Safavid; in some way it is reminiscent of the Rājput style, vaguely suggestive of an Indian environment. It is impossible not to admire the feeling of breadth in the landscape portion of this early example of painting under the Mughals, although the picture as a whole is very much more Persian than Indian. Plate X is a picture probably of the period corresponding to the preceding, to which almost the same remarks apply, except that in the lower portion more of the Indian element is discernible. The rustic scene of the herdsman with his cows and buffaloes, and his wife and child in the lean-to shelter, is plainly of Rājput origin. But the remainder of the work is foreign in its treatment. It is an illustration taken from the *Haft Paikar*, or Seven Images, a poem comprising seven tales told by the seven favourites of King Bahram Gur. The story here portrayed is a long one. It tells of a sheep dog, who took to killing the flock he was trusted to guard; when this was discovered, he was suspended from a tree—crucified—and on his treacherous conduct the story-teller proceeds to moralize. Another miniature of considerable historical importance, which it is possible to date with a fair degree of accuracy, is reproduced on Plate XI. It represents the arrival of the famous musician and singer, Tansen, at the court of Akbar, an event which took place in 1562, when the emperor was twenty years of age. As the picture was most probably painted at this time, it throws some valuable light on the state of the art of painting at a somewhat

obscure period of its evolution. It is an excellent illustration of the transition from the Persian to the Mughal style, and exemplifies in the most marked manner the beginnings of the fusion of the former with the indigenous art of the Hindus. In its general scheme, in its architecture, and in its decorative detail, it is essentially Persian ; while in its figures, in some of the foliage, and in its atmosphere, there is much that can only be styled Rājput. It is a brilliant piece of colouring, enriched with much gold. Tansen, with a small group of musicians, is seen below the emperor in the left centre of the picture. That the painter of this miniature borrowed largely from the work of Bihzad is shown by the general scheme of his picture, which repeats in many respects a favourite composition of the great master of the Persian school. The graceful but effeminate architecture, the plan of the garden, the cypress trees and the almond blossom, the ornamental pond and fountain, the high retaining wall in the foreground, with the doorkeeper at the gate leaning on his staff, all these have been taken bodily from one of Bihzad's *motifs*, and adapted to suit an Indian scene. The colour-scheme is from the same source. But imposed on this Persian basis there is much that is Indian ; the figures are more personal, the doorkeeper is clearly a study from life, the elephant is drawn only as an Indian could draw this animal ; the realistic touch is visible in the *sais* putting his arm over the neck of his horse to caress it ; in the garden the less formal and native plantain and banyan mingle with the stiff and decorative Persian trees ; all these details suggest that the picture was produced in an Indian environment. Added to this it conveys the impression that it is a reduced mural painting : in the treatment of the vertical planes, in the relation of the figures to the background, in its defined contours, and in the ' largeness ' of the composition generally, the art of the wall-decorator seems disclosed. Who was the actual painter, can only be a matter of conjecture ; and whether it was the work of a Persian artist influenced by the expansive paintings he saw about him in Hindustan, or whether it was an attempt of one of these Hindu mural decorators to adapt his style to a Persian miniature, is an open question. In either case it is significant of the state of painting under the Mughals during the first fifteen years of Akbar's reign. Plates XII and XIII illustrate the art of painting at about the same time, or a little later, and are even more Persian in their general character. The former is a portion of the large painting on cotton cloth reproduced on Plate LX, the subject of which is the ' Princes of the House of Timur ', and includes early portraits of Babur, Humayun, and Akbar. The latter depicts the chivalrous

Eraj, a prince who figures prominently in the legendary period of Persian history. From these different examples it will be seen that although the new form of painting had obtained a foothold, there was little headway made while the country was in the throes of reconstruction; at the same time the movement was replete with potentialities. On the one hand, attached to the Mughal court was a small, but very active, group of Persian painters practising their art according to the traditions of Bihzad, but nevertheless quite prepared to utilize in their pictures anything good they saw in the handiwork of the Indian craftsmen. On the other hand, there were Hindu painters, men who for generations had specialized in wall-decoration, but who were ready to adapt the skill acquired by centuries of experience in this method to the production of miniatures in the style approved by the ruling power.

It is evident, therefore, when these facts are taken into consideration, that conditions were ripe for a pronounced forward movement in the development of the graphic arts. Only judicious encouragement and intelligent patronage were necessary to stimulate the painters into action. And the Mughal emperor supplied these requisites in a most liberal manner. We have seen Akbar as a mere boy, placed on the insecure throne of his father and confronted with the stupendous task of restoring order in a territory that had long been subjected to foreign invasion, internal strife, and civil wars. But fifteen years have elapsed, the boy has become a man, and the country, so loosely held by Babur and Humayun, has, by his genius and untiring effort, been made into a most powerful and stable empire. The need, therefore, for incessant military and administrative vigilance had passed, and Akbar could now find leisure to devote his abilities to the encouragement of learning, and to begin the task of arousing within his subjects an interest in the arts of peace. The methods by which he put this into practice are significant of Akbar's policy as a whole. His attitude generally towards his subjects was entirely the reverse of that of his predecessors, and to this different point of view was due much of his success as an empire builder. Akbar saw what both Babur and Humayun had never seen—the inherent capabilities of the Indian people, their culture, their aspirations, and their ideals. He realized that the failure of his forbears and also of his co-religionists, who had established themselves in various parts of India, to maintain anything like harmonious rule was due in a measure to their lack of sympathy with the Indian races, to a disregard of their manners and customs, their arts and sciences, and their mental outlook. These

invaders had founded independent states in which they made their homes ; but they contrived at the same time to conduct themselves more as colonists than as permanent residents in the country of their adoption. To the distant territories of their ancestors they instinctively turned, and to those sources they continued to look for inspiration in all branches of learning and intellectual pursuits. Among such were the pioneers of the Mughal dynasty, Babur and Humayun, whose real interests were not centred in the people of India and their institutions, but in their own native land beyond the Oxus. Towards the blue domes and glittering minars of Bukhara and Samarqand, with all the refinements that these symbolized, their thoughts were ever directed ; and their hopes lay in a return sooner or later to the green valleys and flowered gardens of Turan. Thus we find the homesick Babur saying that although ' the empire of Hindustan is extensive, populous and rich ', it ' is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it '. He is particularly severe in his remarks regarding the barrenness of the Agra district, which nevertheless his grandson Akbar subsequently made, with architecture and art, into something approaching the magnificence of their Timurid home. Babur describes it, however, as ' so ugly and detestable ' that he was ' quite disgusted with its want of beauty and disagreeable aspect '. As to the people of Hindustan he specially complains of the indigenous artisans who have ' no genius . . . , no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture '. He also condemns their work as of ' the Hindu fashion, without neatness and without order ', so that when he required any important constructive work he sent as far distant as Constantinople, for the pupils of the celebrated Albanian architect Sinan, to carry out his ideas.

But with Akbar began a new régime. He would have none of this. He detected the futility of it, and early saw that a return to the land of his forefathers was impossible. His instincts told him that Farghana, and all that it meant to him, was for ever lost to his line, and that any hope of occupying the throne of the Timurids was but an empty dream. And so it behoved him to snap once and for all the link that held him to his Central Asian home, and to accept the fact that his destiny lay in the plains of Hindustan. Having realized this, his next step was to evolve an administrative policy the fundamental principles of which were to utilize to the utmost the natural resources of his empire and the indigenous institutions of its people. Where, in his opinion, these were deficient, his method was to

strengthen or supplement them by elements borrowed from other sources, mainly from Persia. This, in brief, was Akbar's constitutional doctrine, and in the same way as he applied it to the reconstruction of the country, so he utilized it in his organization of the literary, artistic, and industrial activities of its people. As soon, therefore, as he had brought his empire into a state of peace, he began to take up the subject of its intellectual well-being. The manner in which he set about this was characteristic of the man. He had heard of the great cities of the Oxus, of Bukhara, and Samarcand, which his Timurid ancestors had built and embellished so that they were the most splendid in the East. And he knew that their architectural magnificence was only an outward sign of the wonders that lay within; that they contained libraries and colleges, mosques and council-halls, with meeting-places and workshops for the accommodation of all the wise men and skilled artificers who were attracted thither by the patronage extended to them by their imperial founders. Akbar saw that if he desired to encourage literature and the arts within his own dominions, he too must plan and build an imperial capital with all the requisite conveniences for discussion, study, and handicrafts that such a scheme demanded. Summoning all the architectural and engineering talent in his rapidly expanding territories, a plan was outlined; and, in 1569, orders were issued for its materialization. So came into being the city of Fathpur Sikri, which to this day, although empty and deserted, stands forth as a monument to the enterprise and artistic genius of its founder. And even before this great work was finished, when its palaces and mosques, library and mint, baths and schools, aqueducts and causeways, were still under construction; while its unfinished walls echoed to the monotonous chant of the oriental labourer, Akbar began his work of reviving all forms of learning under the shadow of this triumph of his master-builders' skill. Here he gradually drew together a concourse of talent—writers, poets, historians, and philosophers, who debated and lectured, studied and wrote, very often under their imperial patron's own personal supervision. Here took place those religious discussions ultimately to give birth to that climax of unorthodoxy, the Divine Faith, which caused so much dissension among the officials of the State. Here also came the first Christian mission to the court of the 'Great Mughal'—Father Aquaviva and his fellow priests, dusty and travel-stained with their long journey from Goa, but buoyed up with a fervent hope, and bringing with them books and pictures of the West. To this Mecca of learning flocked accomplished men from all parts of the Orient,

so that as time progressed and the array of scholarship increased, the royal salon was likened to the famous 'round table' of Sultan Mahmud ; and it is recorded that Eastern literature enjoyed a brief though brilliant 'Indian summer' within the marble pavilions of Akbar's sumptuous capital.

With this revival of learning under the rising power of the Mughal rule in Hindustan came also a revival of the fine arts. Already much had been done to stimulate all forms of craftsmanship by the building of Fathpur Sikri on a magnificent scale. Architects and builders, carvers and decorators, had been brought together from every part of the empire to contribute their skill to the great undertaking, so that the artistic crafts of India began to flourish as they had not done for centuries. And among the arts called in to assist in making Akbar's palaces the most beautiful of their age was that of mural decoration. As soon as the masons' work was finished, expert painters were called in to design and execute pictures on the interior walls of many of the palace-halls and living-rooms. Remains of these are still visible, and, although much obliterated, they serve to show without any doubt the style of work that was in favour at this period. None of this decoration is fresco, or even *tempera*, as was usually the method of the Indian craftsman, but the sandstone surface of the wall was primed with a coat of white pigment, upon which the colours of the picture were directly applied. In much of its character this work resembles the picture illustrated on Plate XI. Some of the scenes are wholly Persian, and might have been painted by an artist of the Safavid school, then flourishing at the neighbouring court of Shah Tahmasp. This especially applies to a Persian swain, nearly life-size, playing on a flute in the palace of Raja Birbal, a picture unfortunately too damaged for reproduction. The backgrounds of many of the subjects, containing much fanciful architecture, are also from the same source. On the other hand no small amount of the painting, as far as can be judged from the fragments preserved, is characteristically Indian, and was clearly the work of Hindu mural decorators employed for this purpose. Altogether these remains, although now almost effaced, are of great value in determining the state of the art of painting in the year 1575, which may be accepted as approximately the date when they were executed. They show that in all probability Persian and Indian artists were employed in decorating the walls of Fathpur Sikri, but that each class of workmen practised their craft more or less independently. Occasionally they borrowed elements from one another, but as a whole the two arts were working on parallel lines, and had not yet begun to show any real signs of amalgamation.

It seems more than likely that from the mural decoration of Fathpur Sikri Akbar conceived the idea of reviving the pictorial art of India by means of a properly organized school of painting. As we have seen, something of the kind in a small way had already been in existence since Humayun's time at the Mughal court ; but at the new capital the first steps were taken to put the art of painting on a suitable footing by creating a special department for its encouragement. From his earliest days Akbar had shown a decided liking for this form of expression. He had been encouraged to do so by his father, for as we have shown previously both Humayun and his son took lessons in drawing under the Persian artist Khwajah Abdus Samad. History does not often record a prince of royal blood actually practising with the brush itself, an attitude of beneficent patronage being generally considered sufficient, but Akbar and his father were both more than usually interested in pictures. 'From his earliest youth', writes Akbar's historian Abu'l Fazl, 'His Majesty has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement.' Akbar's own remarks on the subject, made to a gathering of his courtiers, and written down by the same chronicler, are still more pregnant. 'There are many that hate painting ; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God ; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.' This very carefully composed expression of opinion was recorded, not so much to emphasize Akbar's appreciation of painting, but to explain to his more orthodox followers his reasons for setting at naught the Prophet's law relating to the representation of living, especially human, forms. Moreover, so that there might be no misapprehension on this point, the historian himself introduces it by a statement of his own, specially intended to prepare the reader for the particular view quoted above. 'I have to notice', Abu'l Fazl writes, 'that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well-regulated mind, a source of wisdom and an antidote against the poison of ignorance.' And here follows a sentence which points directly to the cause of these somewhat elaborate reflections : 'Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting ; but their eyes now see the truth.'

These sentiments speak for themselves, their object being to show

that Akbar's liking for pictures was so pronounced that he was prepared to put aside his religious convictions in order to enjoy to the full his pleasure in the painter's art. The authority for these opinions is Abu'l Fazl, and they are found in his article on 'The Art of Painting' in the *A'in-i-Akbari* or 'Institutes of Akbar', a book dealing with every aspect of the Great Mughal's administration. Were it not for this notable chapter, written about the year 1590, we should know very little of the internal arrangements of Akbar's scheme for the encouragement of pictorial art. But from this it is possible to visualize quite clearly his State school of painting. In the first place it was directly under his own personal control, as 'the works of all painters were weekly laid before His Majesty by the daroghahs and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries'. The efficiency of such a department can be imagined when its output was, at such frequent and regular intervals, supervised by the emperor himself, and the scale of remuneration of each individual worked out by the same high authority. The number of painters employed was fairly large, amounting to considerably over a hundred, and they were all accommodated in a large studio, suitable for their work, in Akbar's newly built capital. The master-painters of the school were the two Persians, Abdus Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali, but the remainder consisted almost entirely of Hindus. For the skill of the indigenous artist had not passed unnoticed by the observant emperor, and a selection of these craftsmen had been made, so that they might work in conjunction with the Persian painters, and thus increase the productiveness of the school. Their talent, once recognized and encouraged in this manner, seems to have astonished the Mughals, for Abu'l Fazl pays them a generous tribute and admits that 'their pictures surpass our conceptions of things. Few indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them.' Undoubtedly the natural genius of these Indian painters, the result of centuries of experience, only required Akbar's patronage and the Persians' guidance to bring it again to a high state of efficiency. As we shall see later, their services were utilized mainly in two branches of art, namely, portraiture and book illustration, which were the principal features of the pictorial section of this department. Added to this was a decorative section consisting of a staff of 'ornamental artists, gilders, line-drawers, and pagers' whose craftsmanship was a necessary accompaniment to the work of preparing a Mughal miniature or illuminated manuscript. But the most practical part of Akbar's scheme, and one which shows the thoroughness of his nature, relates

to the improvement of the materials used in this form of painting, what may be termed the technical section. Information with regard to this is derived from the statement that 'much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved.' The need for such a section is at once apparent. The school was a new departure, its intention being to practise a different form of expression from that previously carried on in the country. No longer were artists to paint large scenes on the surface of walls in coarse *tempera* colours, which could be readily repainted when injured by the climate or the passage of time. Instead they were required to adapt this art to small pictures on paper, carefully and minutely drawn and coloured, which were to be a lasting record of each painter's individual skill. Special kinds of paper and pigments were therefore needed, brushes of a suitable fineness to be prepared, and all the delicate mediums and adhesives obtained, which this decisive change of technique necessitated. Many of these commodities were little known in India, as for instance paper, which had only just begun to be used. This material, so essential to the art of painting, therefore had to be procured, and was first of all imported from Persia, although afterwards paper manufactories were established in India by the Mughals. Under the Persian artists the preparation of pigments for miniature painting had received much attention, and these, or the formulae for them, were placed at the service of the Indian artists. The latter had their own palettes, but were ready to add to these any colours or mediums which would aid them in obtaining good results in this new form of pictorial art.

It may be contended that with such preponderance of Indians in the school—for so far only two foreign artists have been named—the art of painting would show but small traces of Persian influence, and that it would be almost entirely indigenous in character. At one time this was undoubtedly the case, but as the school progressed the Persian personnel was strengthened by the arrival of another distinguished artist at the Mughal court. This was Farrukh Beg, who joined Akbar's service about the year 1585. Farrukh was a Kalmack of Central Asia, and brought with him a style of painting which was not only reminiscent of Mongolia and China, but which showed a marked individuality. Although his influence on the school of Akbar was to affect mainly its later period, his work made a distinct impression on the art of painting as a whole. An early picture by this artist is reproduced on Plate XIV, and shows how

entirely foreign his style was in its first stage. It is an illustration from a book, probably the *Bāburnāma*, as it depicts a court function with the Emperor Babur seated on his throne and surrounded by a number of friends and officials. The picture has every appearance of having been painted in India very shortly after the artist's arrival there, and may be dated about 1586. On the other hand it might have been executed a few years earlier, at Kabul while Farrukh was working under Akbar's brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, on whose death the painter was taken into the emperor's service. In either circumstance it is essentially a foreign production; having all the characteristics of the Timurid-Safavid style, except that the treatment of some of the figures in the foreground is suggestively Indian. As his subsequent pictures show, Farrukh was prepared to borrow from the art of India as much as he was also in a position to give.

About the same time that the Kalmack appears at the capital of the Mughals, another Persian artist arrived in Hindustan. This was Aqa Riza, who seems to have taken employment under Prince Salim, the heir-apparent to the Mughal throne. Salim, when he became the Emperor Jahangir, while eulogizing in his *Memoirs* the work of one of his court artists, Abu'l-Hasan, incidentally adds that this painter's 'father, Aqa Riza, of Herat, at the time I was prince, joined my service'.¹ The Aqa Riza here referred to can be no other than a well-known member of the Safavid school of artists, who made a reputation in Persia during the later years of Shah Tahmasp's reign. Jahangir, a great connoisseur, gives the painter from Herat some praise, but does not consider him quite equal to his son, Abu'l-Hasan, who ultimately became one of the leading artists of this monarch's reign. Aqa Riza must, however, have been an elderly man when he came to India, and probably his hand had begun to lose its cunning. But in his day, trained by the famous Mir Ali of Herat, he was responsible for some very fine work, although he was renowned more for his copies of old masters than for any original work. In this particular line, however, he was credited with unsurpassed charm in drawing and colour. A picture, one of a small series found in India, and possibly from the brush of this painter,

¹ Jahangir, vol. ii, p. 20. Dr. Martin records the death of this artist at Bukhara in A.D. 1573, but history on these matters is notoriously incorrect. It is more likely that at this date he left Persia to seek fresh patronage at the rising court of the Mughals, and so disappeared from the Persian chronicles. In an article in the *Burlington*

Magazine, No. CCXV, vol. xxxviii, February 1921, Sir Thomas Arnold has endeavoured to prove that Riza Abbasi, Ali Riza, and Aqa Riza, were one and the same person. Jahangir's reference to the last named may, however, throw additional light on this subject.

is reproduced on Plate III, Fig. 2. It is in the Bukhara style, but Aqa Riza at one period of his career resided in that city, and no doubt imbibed some of the distinctive character of its art. The work of such a man must have had no little influence on the work of the Mughal school at this formative stage of its development, and when it is understood that he settled down in India and trained up a son to carry on the family tradition during the reign of Akbar's successor, the effect of his style of painting would be retained.

In drawing attention to the foreign artists at the Mughal court, it should be emphasized that those only are named of whom definite records are available. It is more than probable that there were others, of lesser repute, who were attracted thither by the emperor's unbounded patronage, although of these no accounts have been preserved. But apart from the personal element from Persia in the school, there was another and equally important source in the country, also of foreign origin, from which the Indian artists undoubtedly drew some of their inspiration. This was the imperial library of the Mughals. By the time Akbar's empire in India was an accomplished fact, this institution already contained manuscripts and illuminated books of unparalleled value, so that it claimed to be not only a library but a picture gallery. The Mughals, like all the Timurids, were great bibliophiles. Babur set the example, and began by acquiring historic volumes whenever his unsettled circumstances would permit. It is related that on the fall of the Timurid dynasty, after the plunder of Herat by the Turkomans, and the destruction of Samargand by the uncouth Uzbeks, such was his affection for books and pictures that amid the wreck of these cities he managed to rescue many priceless manuscripts from the ruined habitations of his ancestors. These he took with him to Hindustan, there to form the nucleus of a library that, under his successors, was to expand into magnificent proportions. Humayun, whose interest in books was instinctive, added also to the collection, and each member of the dynasty made his contribution whenever he found himself able to do so. To Akbar, however, the great mass of the collection was mainly due, and at the time that he was gathering around him much literary and artistic talent these books and pictures were most frequently used. Some idea of the contents of the library can be gained from the rare examples bearing the imperial seals which have survived, and it is not difficult to visualize the contents of this storehouse of literature and art, and to appreciate its educational value to the scholar or the painter. In its illustrative and pictorial sections alone it appears to have been singularly rich, and, under the able

superintendence of Maktub Khan, who we learn was in sole charge of both the library and picture gallery, the institution was well administered. Here the painter could study examples of the primitives of his art—Arabian manuscripts from Baghdad—which in their rich but crude embellishments showed traces of a connexion with the mosaic saints of the Byzantine church. From these he would pass to volumes from a Mongol source, whose pictures of battles and feasts, although barbaric in their subject-matter, betrayed in their refined treatment the unmistakable influence of the art of China under the Yuan dynasty. Associated with these, but a little more advanced in style, would be Timurid manuscripts, whose decorated pages showed the method of painting which prevailed under the ancestors of his own Mughal patrons. And, probably, most studied of all would be the collection of books containing illustrations by the Safavid school of painters, some of whom were still living in Akbar's time and carrying on their art in the studios of Tabriz, Shiraz, and Herat. Among the treasured volumes in this section none would be more prized than those containing the work of that small group of Persian artists who, even then, were being regarded as the great masters of the craft. Bihzad, Sultan Muhammad, Aga Mirak, and Muzaffar Ali were at this early date names to conjure with, and their pictures to be referred to with the sincerest admiration. All these famous artists were represented in the royal collection at the Mughal capital. One volume alone which has been preserved to this day, and still bearing the imperial seals of the dynasty, boasts of twelve pictures of the Persian school, eight of them the handiwork of the illustrious Bihzad himself. With this wealth of artistic material at their service, Akbar's court painters were provided with every facility for a study of the historic and contemporary examples of their art, and that they were encouraged to do so by their royal patron is also recorded. For Akbar ordered his artists to make copies of these pictures, and to endeavour, if possible, to excel them, in his zeal to improve the standard of their work. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that what the National Gallery is to the English art student, so was the imperial library of the Mughals to the artists of their time.

The golden period of Akbar's school of painting was that in which the artists connected with it were working at Fathpur Sikri, when the emperor was holding his court there surrounded by those whose scholarship was to bring such lustre to his name. Beginning about 1570, this school continued for fifteen years, when, in 1585, Akbar left the city he had built so lavishly, and, except for one flying visit

in 1601, he never returned to take up his residence there again. Gradually the life of Fathpur Sikri departed, and although its majesty was temporarily revived by the occasional sojourn of a subsequent monarch within its columned halls, it soon sank into silence and decay. For the remaining twenty years of his reign Akbar made his head-quarters principally at Lahore; and, although a few of the state artists were generally in attendance there, the majority of them were transferred to Agra to carry on their work in the palace-fort of that city. It is recorded that in his new capital in the Punjab the emperor employed some of his personal staff of artists in their favourite art of wall-decoration, for the interior of the Lahore palace was freely ornamented with coloured scenes, some of which have been referred to by European writers. In particular, in the rooms of the *zenana* the subjects appear to have been of an unusual order, as they are stated to have consisted of 'many pictures of angels, as well as fearsome ones of devils with long tails, horns, &c.' Even from this meagre account, which is by Fitch, one of the first Englishmen to arrive at the Mughal capital, it is just possible to identify the scene here alluded to as one not uncommon in Persian painting, and usually described as the visit of the Queen of Sheba to the court of King Solomon. In the Persian conception of this episode, winged female figures always occupy the centre of the composition, while around are gathered a number of unearthly creatures whose appearance tallies exactly with the brief but graphic note by this early traveller. The inference derived from this is that the mural decorations at Lahore, at this later date, were similar to those executed previously at Fathpur Sikri, and that the Persian style still found favour where the painter's art was applied to the surface of the palace walls. Where, however, the painter's skill was utilized in the illustration of books, and his designs were on a much smaller scale, less of the foreign element is observable. It seems more than probable, therefore, that the art of painting continued to progress on parallel lines, the Persian and Indian styles being employed separately as two distinct methods of expression, until the death of Akbar, in the year 1605.



LI

**Night Scene ; priests in council ; painted C. A.D. 1640
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 13031 ; size $8\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $6\frac{1}{2}$ ".**

III

JAHANGIR THE AESTHETE

(A.D. 1605 TO 1627)

WITH the death of Akbar a critical period arrived in the development of the art of miniature painting under the Mughals. Although much had been accomplished, much still remained to be done before this method of painting could be said to have been firmly established in its new environment. His had been the mind to conceive the idea of the school, and his to put it into effect. He had brought together the personnel and material for its maintenance, placing it judiciously under the control of experts. Examples of the approved style of painting had been acquired for the guidance of the Indian craftsmen, books had been selected suitable for illustration with their pictures, portraiture had been encouraged by the institution of a national album, and the whole movement thoroughly organized, so that its foundations were well and truly laid. But when this point had been reached, before its various elements had properly crystallized, its royal patron passed away, and the fate of the school lay in the balance. Had Akbar's successor been only moderately interested in the subject, it is more than probable that sooner or later it would have sunk back into its original condition, and left no record of its existence in the annals of the Mughals. For the art of miniature painting was of such a character, and at such a stage in its development that it could only thrive on the personal enthusiasm of the ruling prince—without this support it would of necessity languish and die. It is unusual to find that subjects of this nature, after occupying the thoughts of one monarch, receive the same serious attention from his successor; but fortunately for Mughal painting the exception may be recorded. In Akbar's son, Jahangir, the Indian painters found a friend whose interest in their work was so ardent as to be almost unprecedented in the history of art patronage. Under his liberal and discerning encouragement the school received a fresh impetus, the initial difficulties in its evolution were speedily overcome, and the pictures, uneven and crude at first, gradually improved in quality until they assumed a definite style. Much of the character of this style was

brought about by the practical foundations devised by the far-sighted Akbar, but its consummation was undoubtedly due to the cultivated supervision of his aesthetic son. To adapt a metaphor, old even in Mughal times, which expresses in a few words the share that each of these two monarchs took in bringing the school into being—Akbar laid the egg and Jahangir hatched it.

Two factors aided not a little in the perfection of the art under Jahangir's tuition. The principal one, as will have been gathered, was this monarch's own artistic personality. The other was the settled state of the country during his rule. When he took up the reins of government, the emperor found himself able to contemplate, with a serenity which suited his ease-loving nature, a great empire in the building up of which all the hard work had been done for him by his predecessors. During the whole of his reign, therefore, he walked in the ways of pleasantness. In his life he was to reap where others had sown. And Jahangir's disposition was admirably constituted to revel in all the good things which his forbears, by sword and by sweat of brow, had provided for him. But of the two factors referred to, the personal element was the one which had the greater influence on the progress of art during his time. Correctly, therefore, to appreciate the character of the painting executed under Jahangir, it is necessary to realize some aspects of this monarch's individuality, to see him as king as well as art patron. This having been attained, his connexion with the school will become intelligible and lead to an understanding of the aims and ideals of the art itself.

There are two authorities on Jahangir, his life and his times, from which it is possible to gain a clear idea of his character and its manifestations. Both have special merit because they are contemporary records, each is written from an entirely opposite point of view, and each with a very different object. One of these is Jahangir's own *Memoirs*,¹ transcribed by himself, which is a full account of his doings during the most eventful years of his reign. In this entertaining diary of imperial events we see the king as he would like to be seen, carrying out, as faithfully as his volatile nature would permit, his obligations towards his subjects, taking his proper share in the duties of his high office, but at the same time enjoying his life to the utmost. As a whole it is a plain, straightforward story, without any very serious omissions or exaggerations, but full of incidents, interviews, and episodes, which throw considerable light on his personality and surroundings. The other authority is an Englishman, Sir Thomas

¹ The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, or *Memoirs of Jahangir*, translated by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London. Vol. i, 1909; vol. ii, 1914.

Roe, who, as ambassador from the court of James I, spent four years at the court of the 'Great Mogul'. His impressions are conveyed in his *Letters*,¹ which have been preserved, and are invaluable because of the effective picture they present to us, particularly frank in its treatment, of Jahangir and his mode of life. From these two entirely diverse sources it is not difficult to see, fairly clearly, what kind of man this monarch was. Incidentally these two authorities also contain many useful references to the subject of painting which help us not a little in following the course that the art took during this important period in its history.

Jahangir ascended the throne of the Mughals at the age of thirty-seven years, when his mind was fully formed, and his ideas ripened by much experience. By this time he had shown himself to be a true descendant of the Timurids in many of his characteristics, and in these he bore a remarkable resemblance to his ancestor Babur. In a previous chapter we have seen that this progenitor of the Mughal dynasty was prevented by the force of circumstances from utilizing to any practical extent his gifts of intellectual versatility during his own lifetime, but that they were inherited by his successors, and were responsible for that spirit of culture which was the mark of their origin. And in none of this long line of distinguished descendants were Babur's sentiments so accurately reproduced as in the person of his great-grandson Jahangir. It is in the similarity of their tastes that this is most noticeable. Both loved flowers, gardens, scenery, travelling, sight-seeing, and sport. Both suffered from the vice of self-indulgence, especially with regard to wine, but this failing was redeemed to some extent by their sense of good-fellowship—they drank, but like gentlemen. Both were fond of poetry, music and the arts, both read and wrote much—both producing voluminous memoirs—and both were enthusiastic nature-lovers and keen observers of animal life. In all these things they curiously resembled one another, nevertheless in other ways they were widely different men. Babur, as becomes a pioneer, was of vigorous habit, an athlete and a born fighter, a man's man. On the other hand, Jahangir, except in his earlier days, was inclined to be soft and effeminate, fond of ease and peace—in a word, a voluptuary. The reason for this dissimilarity is not far to seek. Environment had something to do with it, and the different times in which each lived, but the main cause of this particular divergence was one of birth. Babur, as we have seen, was a direct product of two virile races of the Central Asian uplands.

¹ *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-1619*, edited by William Foster (2 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1899).

These gave him that untiring physique which enabled him to undergo with ease the most desperate hardships, and that strong spirit, originally inclined to brutality, but refined by several generations of civilized life, which showed itself in his chivalrous attitude towards his enemies. Jahangir's breeding was much the same. He was a descendant of the same stock, but with one all-important difference—his mother was an Indian, a Rājput princess. Blended with his Mongol and Timurid blood was this entirely new strain, bringing with it characteristics that reveal themselves plainly in his mode of thought—that imagination, that sensuousness, that dreaminess which influenced all that he did, and which reflect so clearly the abstractions of the Hindu mind. But above all it gave him a temperament more sensitive than that of his somewhat forceful forbears. This Rājput infusion accounts for many things that would be otherwise difficult to understand in Jahangir's mental outlook, but it specially helps to explain, in pleasing contrast to Babur, his sympathy for his subjects, his keen interest in their pursuits, and his marked attachment to the country of his birth—truly his motherland.

Jahangir has suffered much from being measured by extraneous standards, but, regarded broadly, he was a typical example of a good Oriental despot. He had many faults, although when weighed in the balance his virtues more than turn the scale. After his own manner he was a fair administrator, as the empire continued to flourish under his benign rule ; and, owing to his peaceful disposition, war, in its aggressive aspect, did not form any part of his policy. In his earnest and determined desire to do justice he endeared himself to all classes, and this was the key-note of his popularity throughout his entire reign. His method in this connexion was one of almost unvarying clemency, but when he struck, as he did at times, his punishments were swift and terrible—so terrible that the mind recoils in horror, and they were carried out with a publicity which left no doubt as to their intention—it made his people realize that their destiny was in his keeping ; that while his desire was to show mercy, he also held their lives and happiness in his hands. In his manners he was singularly attractive. He was courteous and considerate to those who sought him in audience, but he was a victim of inconstancy, for as one who suffered wrote, ' there can be no dealing with this king upon sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny '.¹ His religious views are not easily defined. In spite of his birth he professed to be an orthodox Sunni, but he did not always conform to the tenets of this sect. This is most noticeable in the

¹ *A Voyage to East India*, by the Rev. Edward Terry.

designs on his coinage, which not only exhibit portraits of himself—in the strict sense an offence in itself—but in the act of drinking wine, a flagrant breach of the law of the Prophet. On the whole his religion partook more of the nature of a philosophic fatalism, while freedom of thought and toleration were also included in his creed. But although he sympathized with the faith of his Hindu subjects, often conversing with pandits and ascetics, on occasion he could show the iconoclastic spirit of the zealous Musulman, as when he caused the image of Vishnu as the boar *avatar* (incarnation) to be broken and flung into the Pushkar lake. He was fond of shooting, but on account of a vow gave this up. He abstained from it for five years but eventually returned to his favourite sport. He was, however, invariably kind to animals, excessively so in one case, as when he pitied the royal elephants because they shivered in winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water. ‘I observed this,’ he writes, ‘and so I ordered that the water should be heated to the temperature of lukewarm milk’, adding ‘this was entirely my own idea; nobody had ever thought of it before’. Yet, as he himself tells us, he could put a man to death, and have two others hamstrung, because in ignorance they exposed themselves inopportunately and frightened away his game.

Out of this complex array of attributes and imperfections, one feature stands out with singular prominence, one which gathered in intensity as he grew older, which sustained him at all times by the pleasure it gave him, and which illuminated his surroundings with a roscate hue. This was his passionate love of nature, his joy in all the exquisite wonders that the world held for him. For in Jahangir was born the artistic temperament, that aesthetic intuition which, in the words of Walter Pater, enabled him to see and admire all things in their most perfect state of beauty. He knew well that to obtain the full measure of life it was necessary to use this gift freely, to get as many pulsations as possible into the given time, and accordingly his whole nature throbs with ecstasy as he revels in his gardens among flowers or under fruitful trees listening to the music of the birds. All these he loved, as becomes an artist and a poet, and yearned to reproduce them in colour or song. ‘What shall I write of? And how many shall I describe?’ he cries, as he tries in vain to number the flowers of Kashmir, and again, ‘What shall we say of these things or of the wide meadows and the fragrant trefoil?’ And then out of the very fullness of his heart, unable to contain his gladness, he bursts into song :

The garden-nymphs were brilliant,
Their cheeks shone like lamps ;
There were fragrant buds on their stems,
Like dark amulets on the arms of the beloved.
The wakeful, ode-rehearsing nightingale
Whetted the desires of wine-drinkers ;
At each fountain the duck dipped his beak
Like golden scissors cutting silk ;
There were flower-carpets and fresh rosebuds,
The wind fanned the lamps of the roses,
The violet braided her locks,
The buds tied a knot in the heart.

Such was the nature of the monarch who, at this all-important stage, had the moulding of the art of painting in his hands, and the wonder is, not that it flourished, but that it did not rise to higher flights, soaring into the realms of the romantic or idyllic, with such a spirit to lead it on. In spite, however, of Jahangir's poetical temperament, which would cause him to remark of a perfume that 'it restores hearts that have gone and brings back withered souls', Mughal painting, in the hands of its actual exponents, remained intrinsically an art of prose, its acknowledged intention being frank realism, an effort to represent the object 'as in itself it really is'. Under Jahangir's refined supervision, the artists, excellent craftsmen as they were, produced some of the best Indian miniatures, and no painters under any other king ever excelled them. But at the back of all their art, reflected in every aspect of it, and especially in the selection of the subject-matter, we see the workings of Jahangir's artistic mind ; the painter supplied the hereditary skill, and all the training and experience necessary to translate in terms of tone and form and colour the object he desired to produce. But the main-spring of the movement lay in the unerring intuition of this royal aesthete for all things beautiful, and his faculty for inspiring this in those around him. In a word, Jahangir supplied the aesthetic fact—the artist's vision—while his court painters provided the physical fact—the externalization of that vision—the two co-operating to produce the actual work of art. In studying the painting of this period we shall see how the ideals of the emperor and the skill of the craftsmen were combined in the highest attainment of the Mughal school.

Unlike his father, Jahangir does not seem to have taken lessons in painting, but from his boyhood he was brought into contact with the subject in a variety of ways. As a youth he saw the religious

pictures which the first Jesuit mission brought to the court of the 'Great Mogul', for he accompanied the emperor to their chapel, and heard the discussions which took place concerning these examples of Western painting. This gave him an interest in European art which lasted all his life. He was present at Fathpur Sikri when the walls of the palaces were decorated with pictures in the Persian style, and he lived in some of the halls around which were friezes of elephant fights and sporting scenes painted by the Hindu artists under Akbar's orders. While yet a prince, he took into his service a painter from Herat of the name of Aqa Riza, but, as he afterwards confesses, not a man of much fame, although his son Abu'l-Hasan became a distinguished exponent of the brush. In this connexion he seems to have exercised a certain amount of patronage towards the arts, even in his youthful days, inspired to do so no doubt by the example set by the emperor. Early in life, however, he drifted away from his parent, with whom he had small community of taste, and on the whole we know little of his relations with artists until he became king. Previous to arriving at this exalted state, any distinctive characteristics, especially his artistic proclivities, were completely overshadowed by the outstanding personality of his father. But, when this was removed, the real nature of Jahangir becomes apparent, and from this point the conduct of his whole life testifies to his passion for every form of art, especially pictures. During his early years this *flair*, for want of opportunity, was suppressed within him, smouldering but never allowed to burn. Then it blazed forth with additional ardour, and the work of his court painters reflected in full measure the spirit of this fire.

The young emperor was not only interested in the painting of his own artists, but his aesthetic activities were manifested in another direction, one which reacted almost immediately, and with a beneficial effect, on the productions of the rising school. He was a connoisseur and a keen collector of historical paintings. On no occasion, therefore, was an opportunity lost of acquiring illuminated manuscripts and rare old miniatures from those regions where these classical articles had been originally executed. He dispatched agents to negotiate for them, and embassies were instructed to include them among the treasures they brought back from the courts of other kings. When these missions returned, and presented themselves at the hall of audience, before any other business was begun, the emperor in his eagerness would first examine all 'the beautiful and costly things' that they had brought, and specially dilate on the pictures or manuscripts, expressing his gratitude for that 'destiny which gave such

rare things into his hands'. Descriptions of a few of these objects of art have been preserved, and although meagre in their details, they are sufficient to give some idea of the royal connoisseur's taste, and the artistic quality of these articles generally. There were four miniatures of the School of Bihzad, dated A. D. 1499, which Jahangir is recorded to have valued at fifteen hundred rupees. The works of this great artist were apparently difficult to obtain even in those days, and the Mughal emperor had to be content with paintings by his pupils, although none of these was so skilful as the old master himself. On another occasion a copy of *Yusuf and Zulaikha*, the oldest poetical treatment of the Biblical story of Joseph, came into his hands 'in the handwriting of Mulla Mir Ali with illustrations and in a beautiful gilt binding, worth 1,000 muhrs'. The Mulla was a famous calligrapher, and, as it was the custom for the illustrations in these manuscripts to be of the same high standard as the writing, this would be a very valuable acquisition. But the gem of Jahangir's collection was a signed picture by Khalil Mirza, a Timurid artist whose handiwork was at that time nearly two hundred years old. The manner in which this precious relic was obtained is told in the emperor's own words, and shows that there was as much luck, romance, and also sordidness in these transactions in the past as there is in similar 'deals' of the present day. It appears to have been originally in the royal library of one of the Safavid kings of Persia, but 'a person of the name of Sadiqi, a librarian of his, had stolen it, and sold it to some one. By chance it fell into the hands of Khan 'Alam of Isfahan.' This man was either a collector or a dealer, and it seems that Shah 'Abbas, the reigning emperor of Persia, and himself an enthusiastic connoisseur, 'heard that he had found such a rare prize, and asked it of him on the pretence of looking at it. Khan 'Alam tried to evade this by artful stratagems, but when he repeatedly insisted on it, he sent it to him. The Shah recognized it immediately he saw it. He kept it by him for a day, but at last, as he knew how great was our (Jahangir's) liking for such rarities, he—God be praised—. . . told the facts of the case (about its being stolen) to Khan 'Alam'—which was all the dealer got for his pains—and made the picture over to the Mughal emperor's representative, who was at the Persian capital and happened to be negotiating for its purchase at that particular time. When this 'old master', after its adventures, was finally presented to Jahangir, he soliloquizes over it with the intimate knowledge of an expert. 'The work was very complete and grand, and resembled greatly the paint-brush of Ustad Bihzad. If the name of the painter had not been written, the work

would have been believed to be his. As it was executed before Bihzad's date it is probable that the latter was one of Khalil Mirza's pupils, and had adopted his style.' This statement indicates more than an ordinary interest in the painting of the past—on this occasion, and on others, the names of the great Persian artists roll off his tongue with a fluency begotten of experience, and he praises their skill, or compares their styles, with the assurance of a finished student of the art of painting.

That Jahangir himself had no small opinion of his own proficiency in this subject, especially of his knowledge of the individual mannerisms of the different artists, whether ancient or contemporary, is clear from the following somewhat startling pronouncement. 'As regards myself,' he boasts, 'my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought to me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face; I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eyes and eyebrow.' It will at once occur to the reader that the emperor's decisions were certainly never doubted, but apart from this the reference contains some useful information, especially regarding the custom of employing several artists on one miniature, a matter of technique which will be discussed in due course. Allowing also for oriental hyperbole it certainly describes Jahangir as something more than a close observer of each artist's method of work. His statement was not, however, intended to be taken as a literal fact, but was introduced into his memoirs in this emphatic form to make it quite clear to his audience that his knowledge of painting was not that of a mere dilettante, but that of an experienced connoisseur. It seems probable that something between these two would be nearer the mark. In any case Jahangir's acquaintance with the classical aspects of the art of miniature painting, and particularly his activities in acquiring examples of the best schools to place before his artists, were some of the principal means by which the work of his reign was raised to its high standard of excellence. We have seen that one source from which the painters drew their inspiration was the collection of illuminated manuscripts contained in the imperial library. These, like the pictures in a modern art gallery, were studied by the Indian artists and formed the basis of their style. But not all

these illustrations were of equal merit. The decay of Persian art had already set in, and any contemporary paintings which found their way from that country into the hands of the Mughal craftsmen were not likely to influence them for good. Some copies of these by the hands of Indian artists have been preserved, and show how they were occasionally misled in this respect. What was needed at this particular juncture was an authority to provide that sense of artistic discrimination which would distinguish the good from the inferior. Akbar had lacked the requisite knowledge, his investigations had been limited by the deficiencies in his education, although intuition might have helped him much. He appears to have left the artists, when once started on their career, very much to their own devices, to rise or fall by their own individual selection of models. The pictures of his reign are proof of this, and show that the painters were groping about in the mists of uncertainty, with no one to guide them on their way. But when Jahangir became emperor and patron, with the school under his control, all this was changed. He was an antiquarian with an artist's eye, and out of the well-spring of his knowledge he supplied this missing quality, using it with rare judgement, as the art of his time bears eloquent testimony.

The letters of Sir Thomas Roe afford an excellent insight into life at the Mughal capital, and the conditions of Hindustan generally during the years 1615 to 1618, and some of these epistles contain interesting accounts of his discussions with Jahangir on the subject of miniature painting. The ambassador's mission was an important one, relating to a commercial treaty between India and England, and it shows how prominently art figured in the affairs of state, when it finds a place in several business communications to his directors in London. Roe's position at the court was a difficult one, and he certainly did not see the 'Great Mogul' to advantage. Surrounding the throne was a screen of scheming officials, some of them unaware of the real objects of the embassy, others, for their own ends, antagonistic, and all supremely ignorant of the character of the country it represented. In these circumstances it is easy to see why Roe's impressions of Jahangir, and the methods of his ministers, were described with a certain amount of bitterness, as his outlook was clouded with much trouble and disappointment. The ambassador had many interviews with the emperor, most of them fruitless so far as the main purpose of his mission was concerned, but they discussed many subjects outside the matter of his business, and one of these led later to several interesting situations. This was the subject of painting. In his fondness for miniatures Jahangir seems

to have occupied rather an isolated position among his own people. While he could talk technicalities with his court painters, few of his nobles or officials appear to have been sufficiently advanced in their appreciation of the art to afford him much pleasure in conversing with them on his favourite theme. In Roe he met for the first time a refined and well-educated Englishman, a man of breeding, and one who could express an intelligent opinion on any matter. Jahangir took to Roe at once, possibly on this account, for they had their differences, as the letters relate, chiefly, however, through the intrigues of outsiders ; but the emperor says of his visitor, ' I acknowledge you an Ambassador. I have found you a gentleman in your usage,' a concise but handsome tribute to the diplomatist's courtly bearing under varying circumstances. On his part, Roe himself was for the first time in the presence of a cultured oriental potentate, and, on the whole, the liking was reciprocated. Jahangir's gracious manner and uniform courtesy towards him created a very favourable impression, so that he exultantly writes that he was treated ' with more favour and outward grace . . . than ever was showed to any Ambassador '.

This propitious atmosphere having been created, it was not long before Roe was brought into communication with the emperor on the subject of painting. The latter was elated to find that Roe had a small collection of miniatures, by English and French artists, which he had brought with him on his voyage. Discussions on the merits of these and the skill of his own painters took place on several occasions, all of which have been most faithfully recorded by the ambassador. They were informally conducted, being interspersed ' with many passages of Iests, mirth and brages concerning the arts of his Countrey', for the emperor was always more than usually light-hearted whenever this topic was being discussed. It was customary for these audiences to take place in the late evening, for Roe relates that ' At night about 10 of the clock hee sent for me. I was abed. The message was ; hee hard I had a picture which I had not showed him, desiering mee to Come to him and bring yt, and if I would not give it him, yet that hee might see yt and take Coppyes for his wives. I rose and carryed yt with mee.' Then follows a very interesting description of Jahangir at his ease. ' When I came in I found him sitting crosse legged on a little throne, all cladd in diamondes, Pearles, and rubyes ; before him a table of gould, on yt about 50 Peeces of gould plate, sett all with stones, some very great and extreemly rich, some of lesse valew, but all of them almost covered with small stones ; his Nobilitye about him on their

best equipage, whom he Commanded to drinck froliquesly, severall wynges standing by in great flagons.' Under these somewhat peculiar conditions the emperor and the ambassador exchanged views about miniature painting and the art in general. Jahangir was much impressed with the European 'paintings in little' produced by Roe, this being the first time that he had seen work of this kind. Nevertheless he was so sure of the skill of his own painters that he was convinced they could do work equally good. The result was that the ambassador was persuaded to lend some of these portraits to the emperor so that his artists might reproduce them in a similar manner. But the incident is best told in Roe's own words, for in this way will be shown the attitude of Jahangir towards his artists and their art in the most natural light. The ambassador was sent for to attend a private conference of the kind previously described.

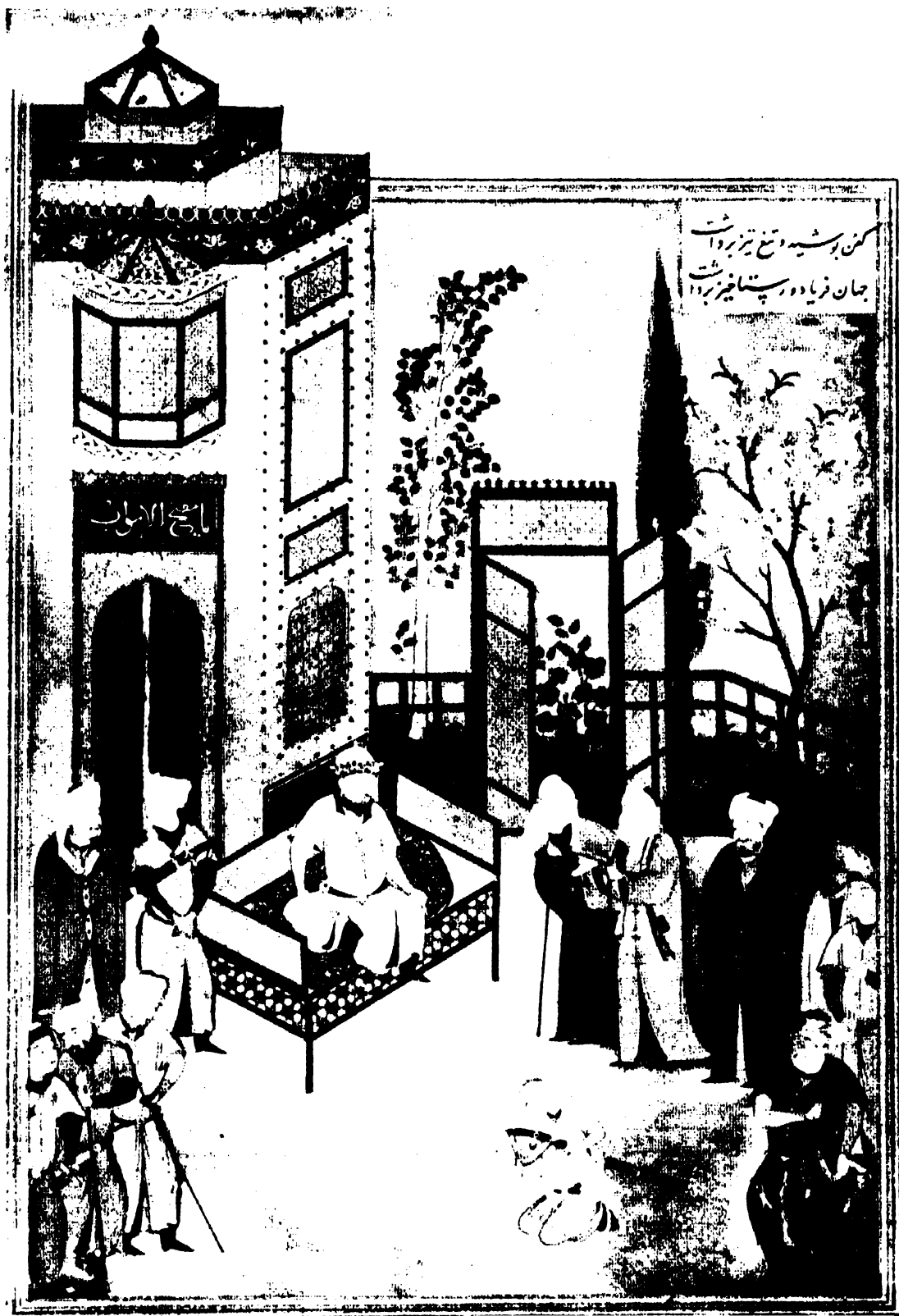
The business was about a Picture I had lately giuen the king and was Confident that noe man in India could equall yt. So soone as I came hee asked mee what I would giue the Paynter that had made a Coppy soe like it that I should not knowe myne owne. I answered: a Painters reward—50 *rupies*. The king replied his Painter was a Cauallere,¹ and that too smalle a guift; to which I answered I gaue my Picture with a good hart, esteeming it rare, and ment not to make comparisons or wagers: if his Seruant had done as well, and would not accept of my guifte, his Maiestie was most fitt to reward him. [Later] At night hee sent for mee, beeing hastie to triumph in his woorkman, and shewed me 6 Pictures, 5 made by his man, all pasted on one table, so like that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which; I confesse beyond all expectation, yet I shewed myne owne and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be judged by a Common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, hee was very merry and Ioyful and craked like a Northern man. I gaue him way and Content, praying his mans arte. Now, saith hee, what say you? I replied I saw his Maiestie needed noe Picture from our Country. But, saith hee, what will you giue the Painter? I answered: seeing hee had soe farr excelled my opinione of him, I would double my liberalitie, and that if hee came to my house, I would giue him 100 *Rupies* to buy a Nagg: which the king tooke kindly, but answered hee should accept no mony but some other guifte; which I promised. The king asked: what? I said it was refrerrable to my discretion. So hee answered it was true; yet desiered I would name yt. I replied a good swoord, or Pistoll, or Picture; wherat the king answered; yow confesse hee is a good woorkman; send for him home, and showe him such toyes as you haue and lett him choose one; in requitall wherof you shall choose any of these Coppies to showe in England wee are not soe vnskillful as you esteeme vs. Soe hee pressed mee to choose one, which I did. The king, wrapping it vp in paper and putting it vp in a table book² of myne, deliuered yt with much Joye and exultation of his mans supposed victory.

¹ A gentleman—a term the king had doubtless learned from the Portuguese.

² Note-book.



I. Book illustration in the Mongolian style from *A History of the Mongols*; Rampur State Library
Fourteenth (3) century; size 12" x 16 1/2".



II. Book illustration by Bihzad ; c. A.D. 1500 ; British Museum, Or. 6810, fol. 368.



III. Fig. 1. Illustration from the story of *Yusuf and Zulaikha* Persian, Safavid style; c. A.D. 1545; collection of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.; size 8" x 4".



III. Fig. 2. Portrait of a young man; Safavid style, Bukhara School Probably painted by Aqa Riza; c. A.D. 1580; Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 293; size 5 1/4" x 3 1/4".



IV. Fig. 1. Portrait of the Amir Timur; painted
c. A.D. 1575: collection of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.



IV. Fig. 2. Portrait of the Emperor Babur
Painting on cotton entitled the 'Princes
of the House of Timur'; painted
c. A.D. 1570; British Museum.
See Plates XII and LX.



V. The Emperor Babur dictating his *Memoirs* to a scribe ; painted c. A.D. 1600
Rampur State Library.



VI. Illustration from the story of *Laila and Majnun*; painted by Mir Sayyid Ali, in the Safavid style; from a copy of *Nizāmi's Khamsah*; dated A.D. 1539-42
British Museum, Or. 2265, fol. 157; size 11" × 7½".



VII. Painting on cotton cloth from a copy of the Amir Hamzah; probably executed by Mir Sayyid Ali, A.D. 1550-75
Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section, South Kensington; size 22" x 28 1/2".



VIII. Fig. 1. The young Akbar receiving the news of his father's fatal fall, A.D. 1556; Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 387; size 6½" x 3½".



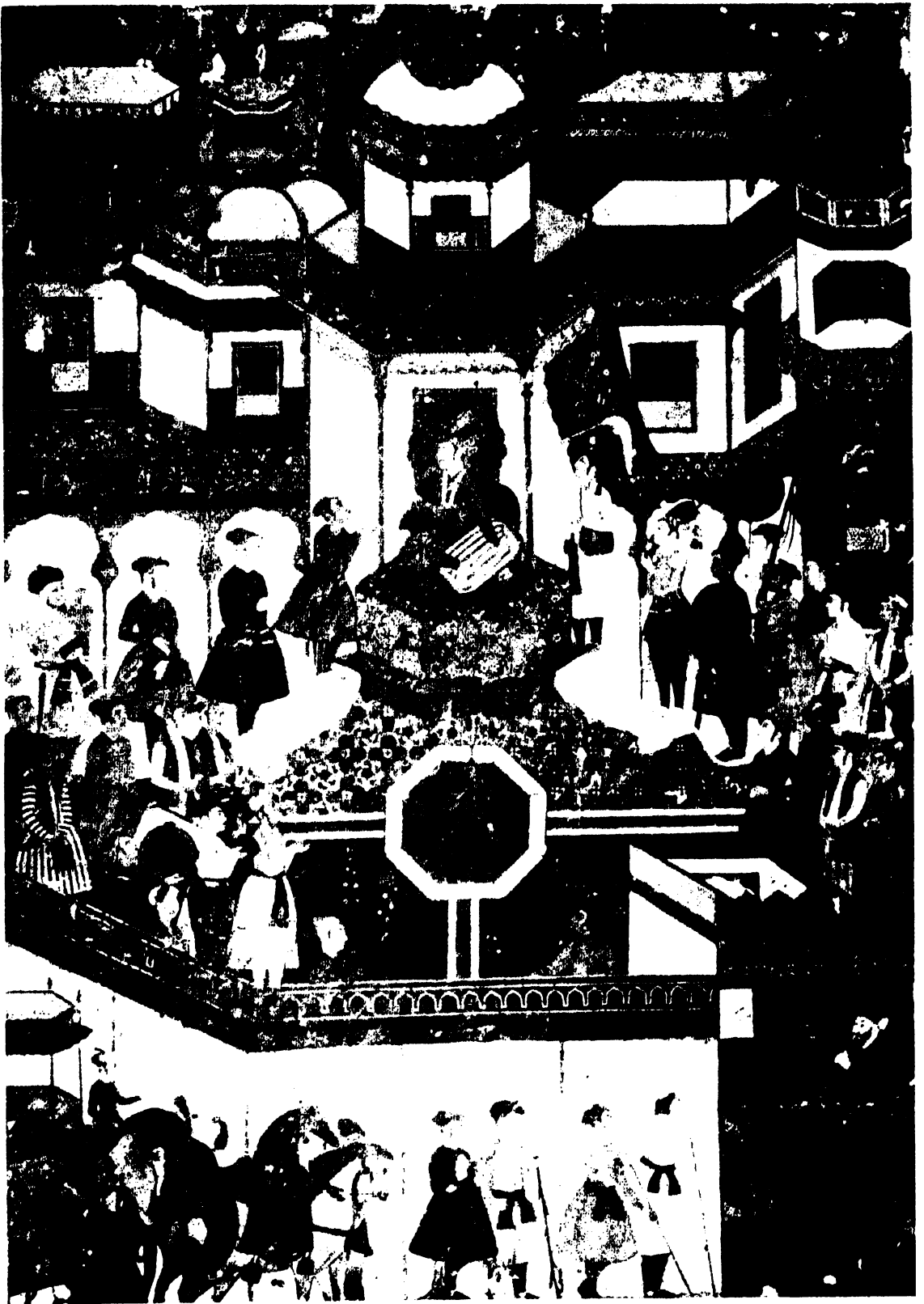
VIII. Fig. 2. The arrest of Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali by Tuluq Khan Qochi drawn by Abdus Samad, A.D. 1556; Bodleian Library, Oxford MS. Ouseley Add. 172, fol. 4; size 6½" x 4½".



IX. Portrait of Amir Shaikh Hasan Noyan, *zali* of Baghdad ; early Mughal style ; c. A.D. 1575
Rampur State Library ; size 7" x 10½".



X. Illustration from the *Haft Paikar*; the story of the unfaithful sheep dog
Early Mughal style; c. A.D. 1575; collection of H.E. Lord Ronaldshay
Governor of Bengal; size 6" x 8½"



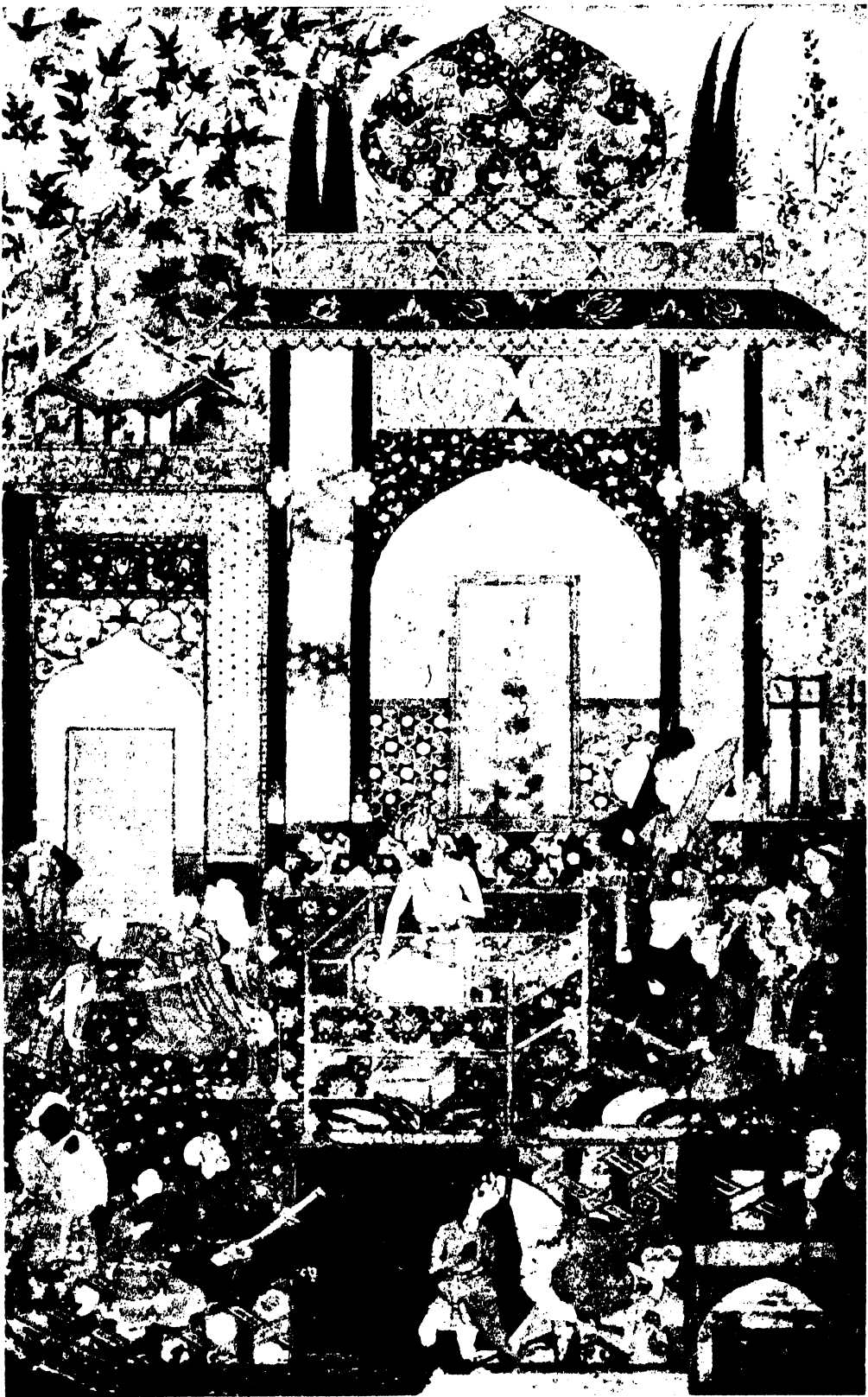
XI. Arrival of Tansen, the musician, at the court of Akbar, A.D. 1562
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 342; size 13" x 9".



XII. Portion of a painting on cotton cloth of the 'Princes of the House of Timur'; painted probably by Abdus Samad, *c.* A.D. 1570; British Museum; size of entire picture 45" x 42". See Plate LX.



XIII. Portrait of Eraj, third son of Faridun, King of Persia; painted *c.* A.D. 1575
Collection of M. Cartier, Paris.



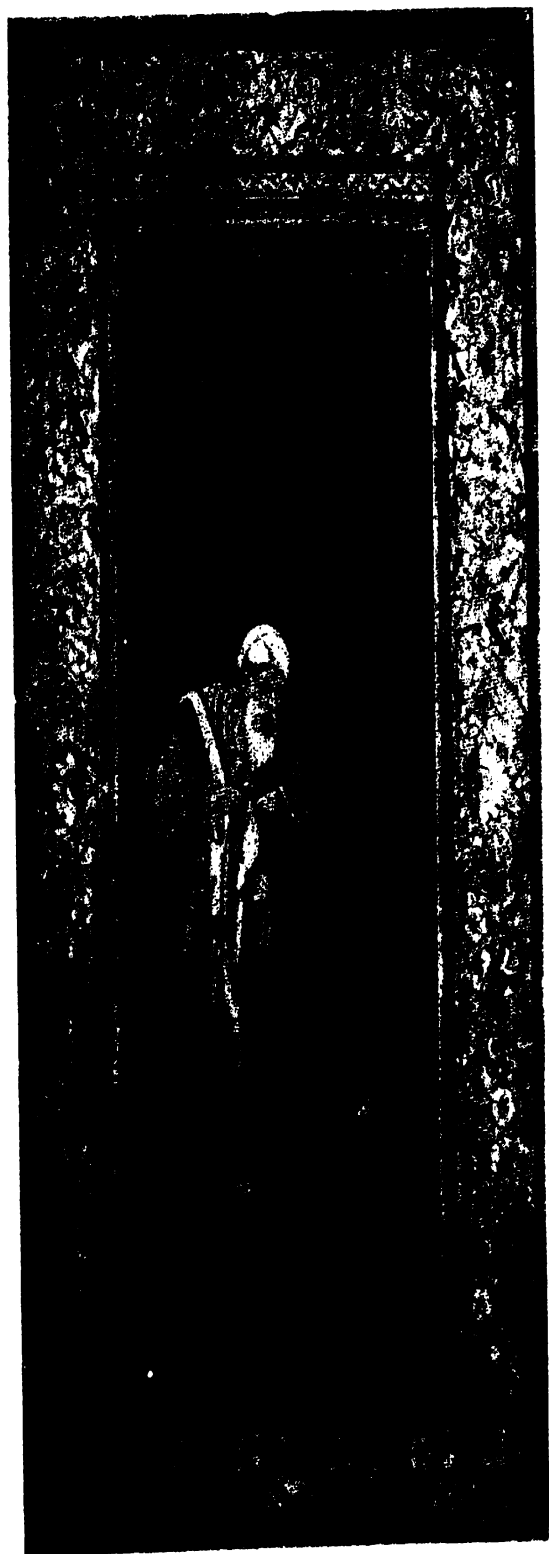
XIV. The court of the Emperor Babur; painted by Farrukh Beg *c.* A.D. 1580
Collection of M. Vever, Paris; size 8" x 12".



XV. Picture of a Plane Tree (*Platanus orientalis*); painted c. A.D. 1610
Johnson Collection, vol. i, fol. 30, India Office Library, London.



XVI. Portrait of Sher Muhammad Nawab, by Muhammad
Nādir of Samarqand ; painted *c.* A.D. 1615
British Museum, Add. 18801, fol. 40.



XVII. Fig. 1. Pilgrim; painted by Nādir uz-Zamān (Abū'l-Hasan عبدالحسن)
c. A.D. 1625; collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris.



XVII. Fig. 2. Jahangir as Prince Salim; painted c. A.D. 1585
Collection of M. Cartier, Paris.



XVIII. Portraits of Daulat the painter, and Abd ur-Rahim the writer, of Mr. Dyson Perrins's copy of the *Khamsah*; painted c. A.D. 1605; size 5½" × 8".



XIX. Incident on a journey from Kabul, A.D. 1607; the Emperor Jahangir witnessing a fight between a snake and a spider; Rampur State Library.



XX. Jahangir at the shrine of Khwaja Mu'in ud-din Chishti, Ajmere, A.D. 1613
Rampur State Library.



XXI. Sketch portrait of the Emperor Jahangir, late in life; drawn *c.* A.D. 1625
Collection of M. Cartier, Paris.



XXII. Fig. 1. Sketches of goats; painted A.D. 1619 (see Jahangir's *Memoirs* vol. ii, pp. 88, 89); collection of M. Demotte, Paris.



XXII. Fig. 2. Painting of a jonquil from Dara Shikoh's album India Office Library, London; R. & L. 944 1908 fol. 66; executed c. A.D. 1630.



XXIII. Peafowl, probably painted by Mansur, *c.* A.D. 1625; from the collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris.



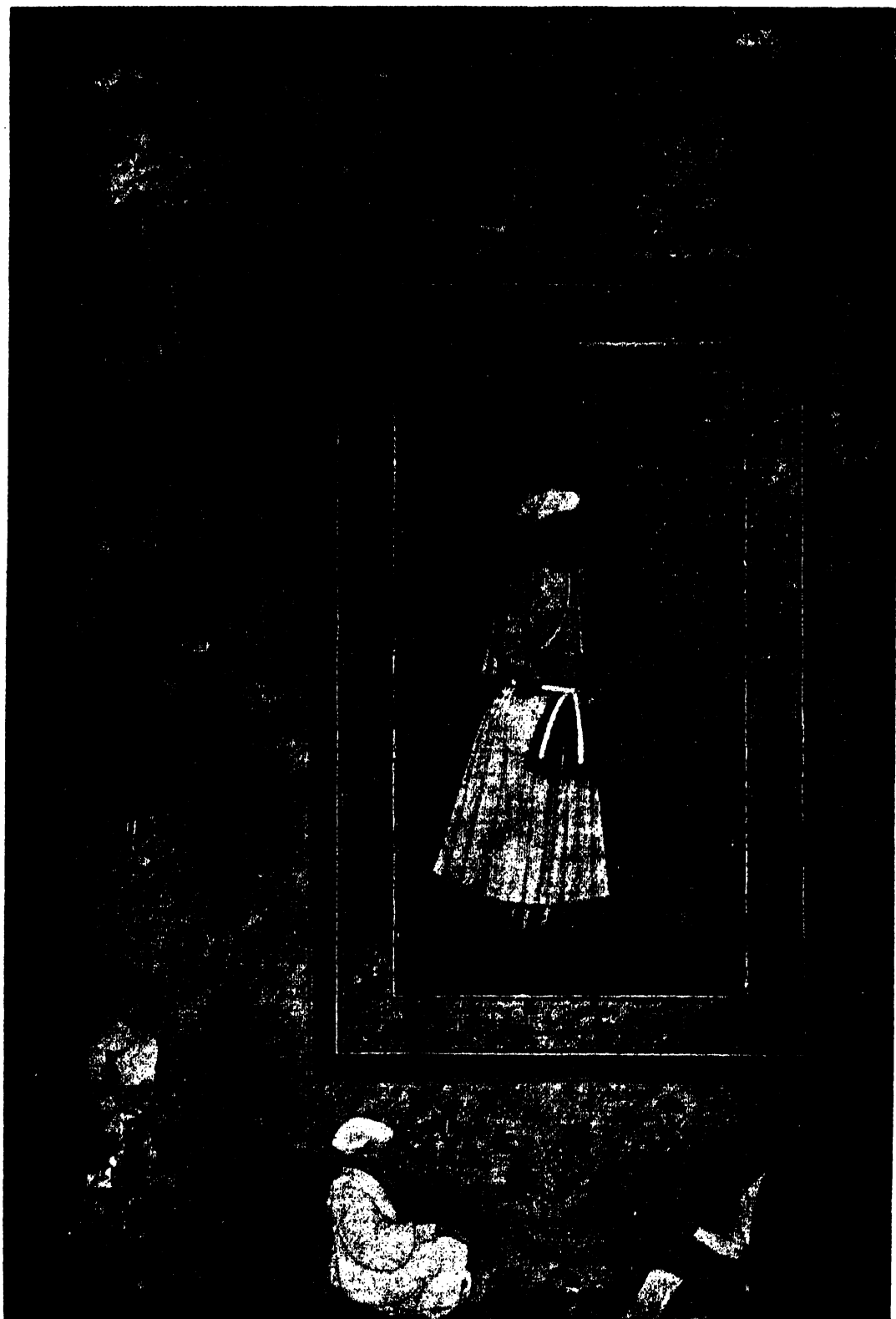
XXIV. The Emperor Shah Jahan receiving a Persian Embassy in Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience
Painted *c.* A.D. 1628 ; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ouseley Add. 173, No. 13 ; size 13½" × 9½".



XXV. The Emperor Shah Jahan on the Peacock Throne; painted *c.* A.D. 1630
Collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris.



XXVI. Portrait of the Emperor Akbar; painted under the direction of Muhammad Faqīrullāh Khān Head Artist at the court of Shah Jahan c. A.D. 1650; collection of M. Cartier, Paris.



XXVII. Portrait of Muhammad Faqirullah Khān, Head Artist at the court of Shah Jahan ; painted c. A.D. 1650 ; collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris ; size $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$.



XXVIII. Portrait of a nobleman ; painted by Mir Hashim *c.* A.D. 1650
Collection of M. Demotte, Paris.



XXIX. Portrait of Prince Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan
Painted by Hunhar c. A.D. 1650; size 8" x 6½".



XXX. The Emperor Aurangzeb at the siege of Bijapur, A.D. 1686 ; Rampur State Library.



XXXI. Processional scene at the court of Jahangir; painted by
Manohar, *cir.* A.D. 1605.

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Roe records several interviews of a like nature, in which the emperor expressed his opinions on painting in the most naïve manner. He was clearly attracted by the European miniatures shown to him, some of which were very good examples, as one or two were from the brush of Isaac Oliver, the leading English miniaturist of the time. Jahangir was, however, quite satisfied with the artistic ability of his own painters, but—be it marked—only as expert copyists, their originality not being called into question. On his part Roe was much struck with the excellence of the Indian painting, although previous to being introduced to it by the emperor he had expressed himself in disappointed, and even patronizing terms, of the indigenous crafts. In one of his letters to a friend in England he writes, 'here there are almost no Civill arts, but such as struggling Christians have lately taught'. When, however, he saw the productions of the court artists he completely changed his views, going so far as to say that 'indeed in the arte of limnings his Paynters woorke miracles', a spontaneous manifestation of unqualified praise, coming as it did from one who knew what a good miniature was.

From these interesting sidelights on the art we may turn to the school itself, as it was conducted under these favourable conditions. Many of Jahangir's court artists were those who had worked under his father at Fathpur Sikri, nevertheless there were some important changes, especially in the Persian element. The two pioneers of the movement, Abdus Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali, had died, and the Kalmack artist, Farrukh Beg, was now the leader of the school. Jahangir had a great opinion of him, and, on the occasion of the marriage celebrations of the heir-apparent, records that 'two thousand rupees were given to Farrukh Beg, the painter, who is unrivalled in the age'. He was not, however, the only Central Asian artist at the court, for the rising school had been reinforced by two painters from Samarqand—Muhammad Nadir and Muhammad Murad—both excellent portrait painters, especially in the process of black outline termed the *siyāhī qalam*. An example of the former's handiwork may be studied on Plate XVI; the strong drawing that both these artists showed bore fruit in the improved outline that is apparent in the pictures of Jahangir's reign. Although Persians continued to arrive in Hindustan to fill various official appointments under the Government for many years to come, the two artists from Samarqand are, with one unimportant exception in the reign of Shah Jahan, the last foreign artists of whom we have any record at the court of the Mughals. They appear to be the final link with the parent art of Persia; from now onward the Mughal school cast off its leading

strings, and progressed unaided to the end. But with these foreign artists may be grouped several Muhammadan painters, who were probably not entirely of Indian parentage. Prominent among them was Abu'l-Hasan, who was of Persian extraction, the son of Aqa Riza from Herat, both of whom have been already mentioned in connexion with this art under Akbar. Jahangir had a great opinion of the younger painter, as he writes that he 'was honoured with the title of Nadir uz-Zaman, because he drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the Jahangir-nama, and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the age. At the present time he has no equal or rival. If at this day the masters 'Abdu'l-Hayy and Bihzad were alive, they would have done him justice.' Few pictures by Abu'l-Hasan appear to have survived, but that on Plate XVII, Fig. 1, bears a minute inscription which may refer to this artist. It is a delicate piece of work, the background is a very dark green, almost black, and the figure of the old pilgrim telling his beads, as he laboriously makes his way with the aid of his staff, fully bears out Jahangir's eulogy on his favourite painter's skill. The miniature is completed by a floral border, not included in the reproduction, which makes the whole a very attractive work of art. The royal connoisseur also highly praises the leading animal painter Ustad Mansur, of whom he writes that he 'has become Nadiru'l-'Asr (wonder of the age), and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation'. In explanation of these grandiloquent titles it may be noticed that Jahangir had a playful way of devising these and conferring them on those who pleased him with their handiwork. Besides those here referred to, '*Umdat al-Musavvirin*, 'the pillar of the painters', and '*Naqwat al-Muharririn*, 'choicest of writers', were given at one time to the leading artist and writer respectively at his court. From these and other indications, it is fairly clear that in this monarch's eyes the Muhammadan artists found the greatest favour, although he gives credit to the Hindu where this is due. He makes special reference to a portrait painter of the name of Bishandās, 'who was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses'. Of Daulat, too, one of Akbar's ablest illustrators, he also entertained a high opinion, and ordered that his portrait should be painted, together with that of the writer, on the fly-leaf of an illuminated manuscript, in the production of which both these experts took a prominent part. This interesting picture is reproduced on Plate XVIII.

It was Jahangir's custom to have two or three of these artists always in attendance, attached continually to his suite. To some of these

he showed almost a parental care for their welfare, for concerning Abu'l-Hasan, already mentioned, he writes, 'my connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nadir uz-Zamān (the wonder of the age).' These artists not only spent their lives at the court, but travelled about with the emperor whenever he went on his very frequent tours in order to transfer to paper any subject in which he showed a special interest. The Mughals seem to have employed their court painters principally in the capacity of 'special artists', to make pictorial records of any passing events. In the time of Jahangir, this occupation, although it had its responsibilities, was an easy one in comparison with the strenuous existence of those on the staff of Akbar. On one occasion the latter took with him three of his leading painters, Sanwal Das (Sanwlah), Jagannath, and Tara Chand, on a forced march of nearly six hundred miles in eleven days across the Rājputāna deserts at the hottest time of the year, ending in the battle of Sarnal, of which Sanwlah made a stirring picture. The story of this ride—much of it accomplished on swift she-camels—is most graphically told in the *Akbarnāma*,¹ and shows that all those who aspired to serve this monarch, even his artists, had to be men of mettle, and able to endure the utmost hardship. But Jahangir's progress through life was of a more leisurely order, and the subjects that he commissioned his artists to paint were not battles and sieges, beloved of his father, but incidents of peace. Many of these he described fully in his memoirs, and at the end of each account he almost invariably added the words, 'I ordered my painters to make its picture'. And so we have every object that excited his attention, and every incident in which he figured, realistically set down by his court artists who were always at hand to carry out his behests. The most important of these pictures are generally those in which the emperor occupied the central position, and in all collections of Indian miniatures some of these are to be found. With these before us we may follow his movements and even share in the innocent pleasures with which he varied his indulgent life. Here we may see him travelling in state to Kandahar accompanied by appropriately attired officials and discussing with them everything that attracted his notice (Plate XIX). Again, at the end of the day's march, he is depicted resting in a garden, one of those formally designed retreats in which the Mughals loved to spend their leisure hours. The painter has depicted the shrubs and trees in full bloom, with birds

¹ Vol. iii, p. 69.

shyly lingering amidst the blossoms. In the midst, seated on a richly embroidered carpet, the emperor converses with those about him on the delights of his surroundings (Plate XLIX). As a contrast to this idyll, in another picture we see him in the forefront of the chase, his dreaminess cast to the winds, as with the lust of the hunter expressed in every movement he brings down the black buck with his arrow, or with his musket slays the lion (Plate XLII). Now he appears, accompanied by his young son, reverently approaching the mausoleum of a saint, an act of devotion for which he has made days of preparation (Plate XX). Then we see him in the most resplendent scene of all, seated on a gold and jewelled throne, with a shining halo around his head, lavishly attired in silk and brocades, and hung with pearls and precious stones. Around him are groups of courtiers, almost as richly dressed as himself, assisting him in maintaining with due ceremony the dignity of his imperial state (Frontispiece). With this brilliant function we may compare another very different picture, where, plainly robed and with deferential air, seated on the ground he pays homage to a religious mendicant, whose only habitation is the shadow of a gnarled peepul tree, and whose companions are the wild beasts. Anon he is supervising the construction of a summer-house, discussing with his builder the plan of the pavilion, there he is laying out a garden, fixing the positions of the fountains, cascades, and flower beds; now he is out hawking, or watching the fighting rams or ponderous elephants engaged in combat, here admiring a firework display—but the number of these pictures is unending, and the scenes and effects ever varied.

Apart from being accurate reproductions of the scenes they were intended to represent, each of these miniatures includes a characteristic portrait of Jahangir himself, always of course showing the monarch to the best advantage. In every one of these he is shown with a golden halo, but even without this artificial accessory, which from this time invariably distinguishes the ruling monarch of the dynasty, Jahangir stands out by the intellectuality of his features as a man of mark. There are pictures of him at every age, from a babe to an elderly man, and in almost all these the same striking personality is discernible. The Mughal emperors owed their position as rulers of their vast territory mainly to the fact that they were mentally the superiors of those around them. We see this reflected in the portraits of all the leading members of the line, just as we notice its absence when the dynasty became effete. In spite of the signs of his failings, and they are written plainly in the weak modelling of his jaw and chin, Jahangir, except towards the end of his life, possessed

an attractive appearance. Plate XVII, Fig. 2, shows him as a young prince, whose frank and open countenance was yet unblemished by dissipation, and untouched by anxiety. When in his prime, as in several pictures here presented, his chiselled features must have been a pleasure to the artist to reproduce. As he grew older these ever-truthful delineators did not omit those flabby folds that told only too well the tale of his self-indulgences. And at the last we see him, as in Plate XXI, an unfinished sketch, when illness and disappointment had hardened his expression, shadowed it with resentment, and made an old man of him before his time. It is, however, in some of the court pictures that one likes best to visualize this monarch, when, filled with the joy of life and happy in all things, he sits with kingly bearing on his golden throne, communicating some of his buoyant nature, which rarely failed, to those around him.

Jahangir spent much of his leisure in travelling about his dominions, revelling in the gardens he had built, visiting various historical localities in the plains, and enjoying the glorious scenery of the mountains. To many of these places he went again and again, often erecting sumptuous summer-houses in these retreats that pleased him most, where he was wont to linger many days on end. Where the hand of nature failed, he supplied the deficiency by the hand of his trained artists, painting the walls of these dwellings with scenes and designs of the most gratifying description. At Ajmere he built the *Chashma-i-Nur*, or 'Fountain of Light', of which he writes, 'they have made agreeable places and enchanting halls and resting rooms pleasant to the senses. These have been constructed and finished off in a masterly style by skilled painters and clever artists.' Of another of these abodes of ease he remarks, 'the picture gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abbas. After them were the likenesses of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Shah Murad, and Sultan Daniyal. On the second story (row?) were the likenesses of the Amirs and special servants. On the walls of the outer hall the stages of the road to Kashmir were recorded in the order in which I had come to them.' This must have been a very elaborately decorated dwelling, a pavilion and portrait gallery combined. It was, however, in this beautiful valley of Kashmir that Jahangir's aesthetic soul found its greatest delight, and here he spent many of his happiest days—it is recorded that he travelled the long and difficult road there on some thirteen separate occasions. It is hardly to be wondered at, that, at the end of his journey, he liked to find his rest in a garden

house, situated in the most beautiful surroundings and lavishly decorated with the art in which he had taken a lifelong pleasure. In the flowers of the valley Jahangir showed the utmost joy, and in his descriptions of these, which frequently occur in his memoirs, his artistic spirit is clearly revealed. 'Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water—the red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips . . . thank God that on this occasion I beheld the beauties of the spring.' With the wonderful variety of the flowers Jahangir seems to have been entranced, and eventually he commissioned his leading artist, Ustad Mansur, to paint as many as he could find. Later he states that the number that had been already copied exceeded a hundred. Duplicates of some of these were afterwards included in the album of Dara Shikoh, one of which is reproduced on Plate XXII, Fig. 2.

Towards the end of his life the light of his happiness was dimmed, mainly through ill health, but he also had domestic and political troubles. In a final effort to secure peace of body and of mind he journeyed again to his beloved Kashmir, that 'garden of eternal spring', as he called it. For some happy weeks he feasted his eyes on its many delights, but his strength was failing. His unrestrained and convivial habits at length told on his splendid constitution, and he died on his way out of the valley in the year 1627 at the age of fifty-eight. With his passing the soul of Mughal painting also departed; its outward form remained for a time, in gold and lavish vestments it lived on under other kings, but its real spirit died with Jahangir. Artist and nature-worshipper to the end, his last words were characteristic of the man. 'Let my tomb lie open to the winds of heaven, so that the rain and dew may fall on it,' and there, in an old-world garden near Lahore, he sleeps under a white marble sarcophagus decorated with sprays of flowers inlaid in precious stones—lapis and cornelian, amethyst and turquoise. Above is the blue sky, and at night the stars; while outside, amid the cool splash of fountains, are bowers of roses, glad with the song of birds. The tall white marble minarets across the Ravi river signal from afar this last resting-place of a king—a fitting mausoleum, exquisite in design—but Jahangir's greatest monument is not his tomb at Shahdara, beautiful though this may be. It is that school of painting which so perfectly reflected his artistic nature and which, imbued with his spirit, was stimulated to its finest achievements.

IV

SHAH JAHAN ; AURANGZEB, AND THE DECLINE

ALTHOUGH the intimate relations that existed between Jahangir and his court painters were not continued by his successor Shah Jahan, nevertheless the latter's reign was one of remarkable artistic activity. As Prince Khurram he evinced an interest in the subject of painting, as may be gathered from an incident recorded by Roe. The ambassador had presented the heir-apparent with 'a siluer watch very small, which he tooke kyndly ; but tould mee the Pictures I showed his father the night before, If I had giuen him, hee would have better accepted than any thing ; demanding if I had no more.' The young emperor-elect was obviously as greedy as Jahangir to possess examples of the European miniature painters' art. But Shah Jahan's artistic patronage did not specially confine itself to painting, as did Jahangir's ; it was more comprehensive, and diffused itself over the whole field of the fine and applied arts, with the result that not only one but all the crafts flourished. This monarch's name is, however, chiefly associated with architecture, because it is by the many noble buildings erected in his reign that he is most widely known. The palace-fort at Delhi, which he caused to be built not long after he had ascended the throne, although shorn of much of its splendour by subsequent vicissitudes, is a monument to his imperial magnificence. Among several florid couplets painted on the central pavilion of this edifice by the Mughal artist in praise of the beauty of his own handiwork, is one which reads, ' the face of its wall is so decorated, that it demands from the painters of China a fee for showing its face '. In spite of the somewhat vague hyperbole, such an inscription does not fail to indicate that the Indians continued to regard their fellow craftsmen in the Far East as serious competitors in the pictorial art. When this array of palaces was occupied by its founder, and in the height of its splendour, it was a suitable setting to the gorgeous pageants which took place within its walls. Plate XXIV¹ depicts a durbar being held in the *Diwan-i-*

¹ The original picture is erroneously inscribed ' Jahangir Padshahi ' in the writing of a later hand.

Am, or ' Hall of Public Audience ', on the occasion of the reception by Shah Jahan of an embassy from Persia, which event probably took place soon after his accession in the year 1628. The emperor was then thirty-six years old, which is about the age at which the artist has portrayed him, and the picture is typical, not only of the painting, but also of the pomp, even pretentiousness, of the Mughals during the first half of the seventeenth century. The incident here recorded could not have taken place, however, at Shah Jahan's palace at Delhi, as the construction of this was not begun until some years later, but the building shown in his picture bears considerable similarity to the one which was ultimately erected by this emperor on the banks of the Jumna. Heavily carpeted pavements, painted sandstone pillars, gilt marble walls, embroidered velvet ceiling cloths, and pearl-fringed canopies, were some of the extravagancies introduced by this luxurious potentate as a fit setting for his court. Among the group of officials on the left of the picture, some of the members of the Persian mission may be observed, being distinguished by their costume which differs from that of the Mughals. Saluting the king by putting his right hand up to his forehead, is the Persian ambassador, while beside him is a Mughal official reading from a small tablet the personnel of the mission, which is being introduced by name and rank. With him are several Mughal councillors, but farther back are a number of Persians bearing golden trays containing jewelled cups and precious ornaments, a present from their imperial master, Shah Sufi, who had just succeeded his more famous father Shah Abbas. Below will be seen the remaining and more substantial portion of the Safavid ruler's princely offering, consisting of five richly caparisoned Arab horses, each in charge of a Persian groom. On the right of the picture are some of the lesser court officials, while standing on the low platform in the middle are two handsome youths waving yak-tail *chauris* (fly-whisks), the symbol of royalty, another attendant engaged in a similar duty being in the emperor's rear. On the same level as Shah Jahan and facing him, with folded hands and respectful mien, are his two elder sons, Dara Shikoh and Shuja, accompanied by their tutor. In the rich colouring shown by the costumes of striped and flowered brocades, in the range of shades of the complexions, from the fair-skinned Persians down to the swarthy Indian menials, each face being a studied likeness, in its fullness of detail (even the features on the small portrait brooches worn on the turbans of some of the officials being recognizable), as an example of Mughal painting this miniature holds a high place. And in the centre of the composition, emphasized by

a radiant nimbus, is the refined face of the emperor, to whose aesthetic mind not a little of the artistic and architectural wealth of India is due.

Besides its value as a work of art, however, this picture has a certain historical interest. It has been pointed out that the ambassador is shown not bowing low before the emperor as was the custom in India, but saluting him with head erect after the fashion of his own country, a fact which the artist has faithfully reproduced. Interpreted by the sensitive Mughal ruler as a sign of disrespect, the Persian's action was the beginning of a sequence of misunderstandings which did not improve the strained relations already existing between the two powers. The breach had originated in Jahangir's reign, and the bone of contention was the possession of Kandahar, which, situated on the borders of the two empires, was destined in less than a hundred years to be four times taken over by the Persians and three times handed back to the Mughals. When Shah Jahan came to the throne the mission depicted in the miniature had apparently been dispatched from Ispahan with the object of propitiating the new emperor, and smoothing over any difficulties which had arisen previously. Whether the Mughal's resentment was too deep to be allayed by gifts, or the ambassador selected was deficient in tact—there appear to have been faults on both sides—in either case a series of discreditable scenes was the result. Several of these have been related by Bernier, and one of the most important had some connexion with the picture now being described. 'When Shah-Jahan', writes the French traveller, 'had made several fruitless attempts to subdue the arrogance of the ambassador, whom no arguments or caresses could induce to salute the *Great Mogol* according to the *Indian* mode, he devised this artifice to gain his end. He commanded that the grand entrance of the court leading to the *Am-kas*, where he intended to receive the ambassador, should be closed, and the wicket only left open; a wicket so low that a man could not pass through without stooping, and holding down the head as is customary in doing reverence *à l'indienne*. *Shah-Jahan* hoped by this expedient to have it in his power to say that the ambassador, in approaching the royal presence, bowed the head even nearer to the ground than is usual in his court; but the proud and quick-sighted *Persian*, penetrating into the *Mogol's* design, entered the wicket with his back turned toward the king. *Shah-Jahan*, vexed to see himself overcome by the ambassador's stratagem, said indignantly, "*Eh-bed-bakt* (Ah, wretch!) didst thou imagine thou wast entering a stable of asses like thyself?" "I did imagine it", was the answer; "who, on going through such a door, can believe he is

visiting any but asses ? ” ’¹ Such is one of several stories regarding the passages of arms which took place between the two principal personages shown in this picture.

Magnificent though the Mughal palace was when Shah Jahan was in his prime, as the painting of the time definitely proves, the building itself served merely as the casket for a most precious jewel which was contained therein. The casket still remains, but the jewel, represented by one of the most valuable works of art ever constructed, namely, the famous Peacock Throne, has disappeared. This throne on which the emperor sat in state in his palace of splendour was emblematic of his majesty and pride, while, as a contrast to this picture, the vacant place at the present time in the empty marble pavilion where it used to stand guarded night and day by armed eunuchs shows how the glory of the dynasty has faded away like a dream. Careful descriptions of the Peacock Throne, by experts who saw it, have, however, been preserved, while, what is even more important, accurate copies of it appear in several pictures of the period. A miniature depicting this ornate article of state is reproduced on Plate XXV, and shows Shah Jahan occupying it as a comparatively young man, probably not long after he had been proclaimed emperor in 1628. Early in his reign the throne was not such an elaborate piece of furniture as that so minutely recorded by Tavernier, who made his inspection in 1655, for some time between these dates twelve golden pillars encrusted with precious stones were introduced to support the canopy, and several other expensive structural features added. But in many respects the picture here presented tallies with the French jeweller’s account. It depicts the canopy ‘covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all around’; the artist has also included the ‘quadrangular-shaped dome’, on which ‘is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water’. It must be admitted that the picture shows two peacocks, instead of one, but it is not unlikely that the artist’s drawing is the more correct. The peacocks stand with spreading tails, and are painted a deep blue, with a pearl hanging from the breast of each, as described by Tavernier,² who valued the whole at six million pounds sterling. Bernier, who saw the throne about the same time, adds an interesting note regarding its design. It was ‘made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth’ (subse-

¹ Bernier, p. 151.

² Tavernier, vol. i, pp. 381, 385.

quently identified as an individual of the name of La Grange), 'who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe, by means of false gems, which he fabricated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the Great Mogol's court, where he made his fortune'.

Remarkable in its design, and extraordinarily rich in its construction though the throne of the 'Great Moguls' was, especially when seen *in situ*, with the gorgeously ornamented pillared hall as its background, it was excelled in every way by Shah Jahan's greatest architectural triumph, the Taj Mahal at Agra. This magnificent conception, which enshrines the remains of his queen, Arjuman Begum, is one of the noblest memorials ever erected to any human being, and denotes the high-water mark of art under the Mughals. It is fitting that this emperor's reign, sumptuous in its pageantry, and prodigal in its display of wealth, should be crowned by such a masterpiece of the builders' art, so admirable in sentiment, so perfect in composition. While its architectural proportions, and the chaste material with which it is constructed, are its main charm, in the beauty of some of the decorative details, particularly the coloured lapidary, it has probably never been equalled. And in these delicate patterns of precious stones there is much that is reminiscent of the contemporary art of the painter, for the same *motifs* may be seen in the designs on the inlaid alabaster as on the flowered borders of the miniatures. The illuminated mount framing the picture on Plate LIII is very similar to much of the *pietra dura* in the 'Taj and other buildings of the period: in technique only do the two crafts differ, in the one the effects were obtained by coloured stones, in the other by pigments and burnished gold. During this reign no miniature was considered complete unless it was surrounded by one of these highly ornamented borders, in which bright-hued flowers, butterflies, and birds were freely introduced. Nor did such a desire for display, which was the key-note of the time, end thus, but it became customary for these spacious mounts to be still further enriched by the addition of a number of human figures, seated or standing, amid floral scrolls or arabesques. This form of embellishment, while appearing first in Jahangir's reign, became a distinctive feature of the art under Shah Jahan, as the majority of the pictures belonging to his period plainly demonstrate. An appreciable number of these works of art with borders of a corresponding character, and bearing considerable similarity in general appearance, design, and treatment, seems to have formed part of a large and ambitious volume of miniatures prepared under the latter emperor's orders. Although its pages are now scattered among various collections, it is possible

to reconstruct a considerable portion of this album and so obtain a very fair idea of the painting and the school at the time when the Taj Mahal was being constructed, and the Mughal dynasty was at its zenith.

The scheme of this notable work as a whole was both pictorial and descriptive, a volume being devoted to each, but it is with its former aspect that we are more closely concerned. The volume reserved for the miniatures consisted of a complete series of portraits of the Mughal royal family and its principal supporters, from the earliest times to the middle of the seventeenth century ; it was no doubt inspired by Akbar's conception of a national portrait album to which reference has been made, but Shah Jahan considerably amplified this, and also brought it up to date. The pictures presented these historic personages not only as single individuals but also in groups, and with their chief officials and retainers added in the borders around them. Plate XXVI, a portrait of Akbar, is one of the series—one only from a large selection—and well illustrates the style of the work, all the pictures being executed in the same manner, although some are more ornate than others. The conception was characteristic of the age, especially in the lavish form in which it was carried out, and in the expansive borders with their figures, flowers, animals, and arabesques. On its production a staff of painters and writers was employed during the greater part of Shah Jahan's reign, under the supervision of the most distinguished artists of the state. Of these an expert of the name of Muhammad Faqīrullāh Khān took the chief part, but he was assisted by an excellent portrait painter named Mir Hashim. One page, probably towards the completion of the work, was allotted to the former artist, no doubt as a compliment to his assiduity during its preparation, on which his own portrait was painted together with the members of his staff. This is reproduced on Plate XXVII, and is one of the few pictures which give us actual likenesses of the Mughal artists, for these as a rule are known only to us by name or through their works. But here we have, as the inscription boldly tells us, a representation of the chief government artist in the flesh, and also portraits of the painters and writers who were his collaborators. Faqīrullāh Khān is depicted as a refined and middle-aged Muhammadan official in court costume, without any special indications of his artistic calling. It is unfortunate that only a very few pictures, the work of this painter's hand, have survived, but those that have been identified as his, while of some merit, are not to be numbered among the best. It seems most probable that his duty was mainly that of supervision, the actual production

of the portraiture and calligraphy, with the illuminated borders, devolving on Mir Hashim and his other assistants. A likeness of Hashim is not forthcoming, but an example of his painting taken from the same volume may be studied on Plate XXVIII. The remaining members of Faqīrullāh's staff form an interesting group around the portrait of their master, the painters being differentiated from the writers by the character of the implements and materials that are placed before them. Four of his assistants are Muhammadans, the three others being Hindus ; of the latter the keen-looking young man in the bottom right-hand corner of the picture is a Rājput. It is evident, therefore, that the school of painters under Shah Jahan still retained a fair proportion of indigenous talent, Hindu craftsmen continuing to be indispensable as in the days of Akbar and Jahangir.

It may be inferred from this and other circumstances that although Shah Jahan took no little pleasure in the productions of his official painters, he had not that passion for pictures which was such a notable characteristic of his predecessors. While he maintained on his staff a limited and select body of highly trained artists, in numbers these were nothing to be compared with the great concourse of painters who for over a generation had been dependent on the patronage of the Mughal rulers. In reducing the numbers of this class of retainer, for such a course was undoubtedly adopted, Shah Jahan unconsciously took the step of decentralizing this art and making it less of an imperial monopoly. The groups of painters who had flocked around Akbar's and Jahangir's courts, finding their services no longer required under the new régime, after a time began to cast around for other means of support. Premonitions of an approaching change in the status of the artists had already taken place. Towards the end of Jahangir's reign this sovereign's enthusiasm for pictures showed signs of being communicated to the noblemen and chiefs of his ministry, who, proud to follow in the footsteps of such a connoisseur, soon drew some of the state artists around themselves. In the reign of his successor Shah Jahan, the custom spread, especially as more artists were available owing to the changed conditions at the court. No longer were pictures produced for the sole edification of the emperor, or artists retained only for the purpose of decorating the royal summer-houses and pavilions ; instead the leading families found it fashionable to keep in their service painters, whom they employed either in ornamenting the walls of their houses with pictures, or immortalizing the features of the chief members. Such a one was that of Asaf Khan, a high official of the Punjab, under Shah

Jahan, whose palace in Lahore was so elegantly decorated with paintings as to be mentioned by several writers. The immense series of portraits of all kinds of people, executed at this time, which forms the bulk of most modern collections, shows that the art of miniature painting had ceased to be entirely aristocratic, and had begun to assume a more popular form. Moreover, the encouragement of painting was not entirely confined to the Mughals. The emperors of Bijapur, an important Muhammadan state in the Deccan which kept its independence until conquered by Aurangzeb in 1686, greatly favoured this art, and engaged many craftsmen to paint portraits on the walls of their palatial courts, remains of which may be seen at the present day. Several members of the dynasty were also ardent bibliophiles, and employed artists to illustrate books for them, some of which, bearing their royal seal, have survived.¹

Among those who took a keen pleasure in pictures was the heir-apparent, Shah Jahan's eldest son Dara Shikoh (Plate XXIX). This gifted prince was a collector of these works of art, as is proved by a precious album of miniatures bearing his signature and now in the India Office Library, London.² Apart from its artistic value, his book has no little historical interest, as it is a record of a very pathetic incident in what was destined to be a most unfortunate career ending in a miserable death. Owing to his younger brother Aurangzeb's clever intrigues, Dara Shikoh was defeated in battle, and pursued with relentless vigour. To avoid capture he took refuge in the trackless wastes of Sind, but even there treachery followed him, and he was betrayed by one whom he had thought a friend. Then, as if his cup of bitterness was not yet filled, he 'received by a foot messenger the sad intelligence of the death of that one of his wives whom he loved most, and who had accompanied him always during his misfortunes. He learnt that she had died of heat and thirst, not being able to find a drop of water in the country to assuage her thirst. The prince was so affected by the news that he fell as though he were dead.'³ And written on the title-page of the beautiful little volume—squandered across a splash of gold—is the following inscription: 'This album was presented to his dearest and nearest friend, the Lady Nadirah Begum, by Prince Muhammad Dara Shikoh, son of the Emperor Shah Jahan, in the year 1051 (=A.D. 1641-2).' As a criterion of the artistic taste of a cultivated Mughal prince this *muraqqa'* is of interest; it shows that its original owner, while attracted by weak prettiness in some of his selections, was on the whole a good

¹ B.M., MS. Add. 18579.

² R. and L. 944-1908.

³ Tavernier, vol. i, p. 350.

je of a miniature, and had gathered his examples with care. That he was catholic in his views is also proved by the presence of several European engravings among its pages, one of which (fol. 43) depicts 'St. Catherine of Siena' and bears its own date of 1585. As an illustration of the state of this art under Shah Jahan, the forty miniatures of the Dara Shikoh album are of some value. It must be admitted, however, that very few of the pictures show any strength, although on the other hand they may have been chosen for the femininity of their character, as the volume formed a present to a lady. Representative specimens from this album are reproduced on Plate XXII, Fig. 2, and Plate LV, from which the quality of the work may be appraised. One picture (fol. 21b) bearing a date equivalent to A. D. 1633-4 and inscribed with the name Muhammad Khan, may be from the brush of Shah Jahan's head artist, to whom reference has been already made. The subject is a portrait of a youthful exquisite, dressed in Persian costume, and obviously a frank copy of a late Safavid original. Most of the remaining miniatures in the book are, however, purely Mughal in character, the subjects being figures, animals and birds, and flowers, all fairly good, but none of outstanding merit, being a selection of the ordinary style of painting which was in vogue at the time.

Owing largely to intelligent travellers from over the seas now arriving in India and recording their impressions, we are enabled to get a clearer view of the economic conditions under which the artists lived and carried on their work. One close observer, Bernier, who journeyed extensively in Hindustan from A. D. 1656 to 1668, has described most graphically the state of the people at the latter end of Shah Jahan's reign, and includes some interesting remarks on the artisans. The French physician held a good opinion of the latter, and specially 'admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures'. But, as he points out, the excellence of their handiwork was mainly owing to the practical encouragement they received from the nobility, for 'the arts in the Indies would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the Monarch and principal Omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses, teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward'. Later he emphasizes this by stating that 'the artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the King or of some powerful Omrah, and who work exclusively for their patron'. From the account thus presented it is not difficult to see the course that the craft of the painter was following. The artists by force of circumstances

were gradually beginning to be resolved into two classes; in the one were a select few of outstanding ability who were servants of the court or the leading nobles, while the other comprised a larger number, not so skilled, who were endeavouring to carry on their art without such protection. This was being brought about by the fact that the conditions prevailing under Shah Jahan were very different from those under Jahangir. So enthusiastic had been the encouragement of the latter that the community of painters had increased out of all proportion. On the other hand patronage by the state and its leading officials had not expanded at the same rate, so that after Shah Jahan had ascended the throne many families of painters found themselves bereft of their accustomed means of support. These, realizing after a time that there was little prospect of the system in vogue under Akbar and Jahangir ever again being revived, fell back on the indigenous method of establishing themselves in shops in the bazaar, there to cater for a less reliable but more general demand for their handiwork. At first they formed only small isolated groups scattered among the cities and large towns of Upper India, but, as time progressed, and painting tended to become less of a princely monopoly, their pictures grew in popularity. Gradually the art began to take on a more democratic character, the number of painters increased, and so came into being a phase of painting which may most suitably be designated as 'commercial'. Such a state of affairs, however, did not come all at once, only the beginning of the trade is noticeable in Shah Jahan's time, but later it assumed considerable proportions. Of this aspect of the art as carried on in Delhi in the middle of the seventeenth century, Bernier draws a somewhat unattractive picture, and one which shows that in the process of the social and economic changes that were then taking place the painter had lost much of his prestige. He explains that the artisans were accommodated in large halls or workshops, 'in one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third painters.' But, as he goes on to explain,

want of genius is not the reason why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an Omrah or Mansubdar requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazaar for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labourer, but agreeably

to his own standard of fair remuneration. . . . How then can it be expected that any spirit of emulation should animate the artist or manufacturer ?

On another occasion he writes even more strongly :

No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty and excellence, but the cheapness of an article : a people whose grandees pay for a work of art considerably under its value, and according to their own caprice, and who do not hesitate to punish an importunate artist, or tradesman, with the *korrah*, that long and terrible whip hanging at every Omrah's gate. Is it not enough also to damp the ardour of any artist, when he feels that he can never hope to attain to any distinction ; that he shall not be permitted to purchase either office or land for the benefit of himself and family ; that he must at no time make it appear he is the owner of the most trifling sum ; and that he may never venture to indulge in good fare, or to dress in fine apparel, lest he should create a suspicion of his possessing money ?

Hard times indeed had descended on art when those who followed it were dealt with in so inconsiderate a fashion, and the contrast between the state thus described and the halcyon days under Jahangir needs no comment. It should be noted, however, that Bernier's remarks apply entirely to ' bazaar ' artisans, who seem to have been employed on something equivalent to a factory system, with all its attendant evils when badly administered. On the other hand fair treatment seems to have been afforded to the superior craftsmen, who continued to work in comfort and safety as long as they were in the service of any nobleman or high official, many of whom retained a small staff of artisans versed in a variety of trades as a necessary part of their retinue. The bazaar artists, of whom the French traveller writes with such feeling, were not men of great talent, as the large amount of ' commercial ' painting produced at the time amply demonstrates, but, having been well trained in the manipulation of their materials, were craftsmen of fair technical ability. Their aptitude in this direction they applied mainly in making duplicates of the original pictures painted by their more skilful brethren, so that several copies of the same miniature were often produced. To enable them to carry on their art they were wont to provide themselves with collections of tracings of well-known pictures by contemporary, and also deceased, artists of repute, especially those containing portraits of eminent personages. Such tracings formed a very necessary part of their stock-in-trade, so that they were always in a position to paint a reproduction of any popular picture, or the likeness of any historical individual, whenever called

upon to do so. At the same time they were also prepared to execute original work, as for instance a series of family portraits or the illustrations of a book, but their handiwork was not of the highest order, and payment was made in proportion to their proficiency. Many pictures of this order have survived, and, as they not infrequently consist of copies of pictures belonging to an earlier period and style, some confusion in classifying these has naturally arisen. The two genuine Akbari pictures illustrated on Plates IX and X have been copied by an artist at a later date, whose facsimiles may be studied in the *muraqqa'* numbered Or. 18807 in the British Museum collection. In each case there are deviations from the originals, while the drawing and execution show the touch of a less experienced hand. Regarded as a whole, the painting executed during Shah Jahan's reign presents us with an interesting example of an art which, while outwardly maintaining the semblance of its original vitality, nevertheless manifests in its forced superiority the first premonitions of decay. Instead of the carefully composed harmonies of colour of the early Jahangiri period, the pictures tend to display a superfluity of rich pigments and an extravagant use of gold. Moreover, in the selection of subject-matter there appears a growing desire for the strange and fantastic rather than the beautiful, as shown by those bizarre drawings of animals built up of other animals, and similar freaks of design. In the matter of technique and in the quality of the drawing generally, the traditional manual dexterity is still retained, but on the other hand an inclination to an over-elaboration of colour and an increase in the amount of detail is observable. The first fine vigour and spontaneity has become less pronounced, and much of the work creates the impression that the artists held very little in reserve. In a word one detects behind all the lavish display which is the main characteristic of the painting under Shah Jahan, that sense of over-ripeness which is the sure sign of decline.

Shah Jahan was deposed by his third son Aurangzeb in the year 1658, a little more than a century after Akbar had ascended the throne. These hundred years, extending from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century, cover the whole period during which the Mughal school of painting was a living art. From now begins the story of its decay. To Aurangzeb's unsympathetic policy the decline of the Mughal empire has been ascribed, and to his puritanical personality the death of the painter's art is attributed. It is, however, probably more accurate to say that his mistaken ideals and want of statesmanlike insight brought the empire to its ruin, which in its fall brought with it all the organizations,

social, intellectual, and political, built up with so much care and knowledge by his predecessors. And among those institutions which collapsed with the dynasty was the Mughal school of painting. We have seen that this art had already begun to show the effects of the period of excessive luxury which marked the reign of Shah Jahan. It is possible that at this stage the degeneration might have been stayed, or the life of the school at least prolonged for another span, by the action of a vigorous ruler to whom the painters' art appealed. Unfortunately the reverse has to be recorded. Its vitality was still further sapped by the antipathy with which it was regarded by his successor Aurangzeb, an attitude which was brought about by the new ruler's strict observance of the letter of the Muhammadan creed. Unlike his father and grandfather whose mothers were Rājputs, Aurangzeb was the son of a Muhammadan queen, Arjuman Begum, the lady of the Taj. Probably on this account he maintained with unswerving rigidity the tenets of his faith, and also showed less toleration towards the beliefs of others. Tavernier, who knew him personally, remarks that he 'especially shows great zeal for the *Sunni* sect, of which he is so faithful a follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observation of the law, . . . when he took possession of the throne he proclaimed that it was with the design of insisting upon the law of Muhammad being observed in all its strictness, as it had been relaxed during the reigns of Shah Jahan his father and Jahangir his grandfather'.¹ While Aurangzeb's motives may have been the very high ones here indicated, the methods by which he attained his end were sinister in the extreme. To what extent this monarch, by deposing his father and disposing of his three brothers, changed the course of Indian history, will never be known. But in causing the death of the rightful heir, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb removed from the scene a prospective ruler, whose nobility, as distinct from his own scheming nature, might possibly have preserved the empire from the landslide with which it was threatened. Moreover, in further contrast to Aurangzeb, the elder prince, as we have seen from the illustrated album already referred to, showed an appreciation of the painter's art which might have been the means of staving off its immediate decay. Fate, however, decreed that in the hands of this ambitious emperor and stern puritan the dynasty, together with an art which it had made its own, should decline. But before saddling Aurangzeb with the onus of dealing the Mughal miniaturists their death-blow, some of the facts that give credence to such a view may be examined. Of his religious

¹ Tavernier, vol. ii, p. 177.

oppression there are many accounts, but one of these has a special bearing on the subject of painting. A most loyal Hindu general, the Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, who served Aurangzeb faithfully, finally dying in his service, once wrote boldly objecting to his continued bigotry. In his letter he pointed out the freedom that was allowed to every sect in the reign of his predecessors, Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, and then proceeded to admonish his sovereign in the following words :

If your Majesty places any faith in those books of distinction called divine, you may there learn that God is the God of all mankind, not of Musalmans only. 'The Pagan and the Moslem stand alike before Him. . . . In your mosques it is in His name that the call to prayer is uttered. In a house of idols, where the bell is rung, it is still He that is the object of adoration. 'To vilify the religious customs of other men is to set at nought the will of the Almighty.

'Then he ends with a sentence of no little significance: 'When we deface a picture we necessarily incur the resentment of the painter.'¹

The stories of Aurangzeb's destruction of works of art are as numerous as those commonly related of Cromwell in England, but here the Rājput general's picturesque simile seems to point to the fact that in India these were not legends but historical truths. Among many there is the account of the two statues of elephants with their riders which guarded the main gateway to the Delhi Fort. These were in position in the early part of Aurangzeb's reign, as testified by Bernier, but were subsequently broken to pieces by an order from the throne. Further, many of the pictures in the Asar Mahal at Bijapur have obviously been purposely destroyed, and the local account, which is a very persistent one, is 'that the emperor Aurangzeb defaced many of these with his own hands, all portraits and pictorial representations being offensive to bigoted Muhammadans like himself'.² Manucci, in his description of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, written at the end of the seventeenth century, notes that here 'there were drawings of human figures. Over these the king Aurangzeb ordered a coat of whitewash to be applied so that the drawings might not be seen. He said such things were prohibited by the Muhammadan religion.' The same writer's humorous account of the emperor's attitude towards the sister art of music may help also to explain his presumed aversion to painting. Aurangzeb, if the Italian's gossip is to be believed, exercised at one period his right as king to prohibit certain social abuses which were prevalent in his

¹ *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, by Keene, p. 34.

² *The Architecture of Beejapur*, by Fergusson and Meadows Taylor.

dominions ; accordingly he organized a department under an official to cope with these, and prevent them being continued. Among them was music, which the Mughal ruler considered was a much overcrowded profession ; in the words of Manucci he objected to

the excessive number of musicians. In Hindustān both Moguls and Hindūs are very fond of listening to songs and instrumental music. He therefore ordered the same official to stop music. If in any house or elsewhere he heard the sound of singing and instruments, he should forthwith hasten there and arrest as many as he could, breaking the instruments. Thus was caused a great destruction of musical instruments. Finding themselves in this difficulty, their large earnings likely to cease, without there being any other mode of seeking a livelihood, the musicians took counsel together and tried to appease the king in the following way : About one thousand of them assembled on a Friday when Aurangzebe was going to the mosque. They came out with over twenty highly-ornamented biers, as is the custom of the country, crying aloud with great grief and many signs of feeling, as if they were escorting to the grave some distinguished defunct. From afar Aurangzebe saw this multitude and heard their great weeping and lamentation, and, wondering, sent to know the cause of so much sorrow. The musicians redoubled their outcry and their tears, fancying the king would take compassion upon them. Lamenting, they replied with sobs that the king's orders had killed Music, therefore they were bearing her to the grave. Report was made to the king, who quite calmly remarked that they should pray for the soul of Music, and see that she was thoroughly well buried. In spite of this, the nobles did not cease to listen to songs in secret.

These, and many similar records, certainly favour the supposition that Aurangzeb gave little encouragement to his people in the sphere of art, but whether he persisted throughout the whole of his reign in prohibiting any form of expression of which he did not personally approve is far from proved. On the contrary there is much material forthcoming which conclusively demonstrates that the arts generally flourished very much as they did under his less bigoted predecessors. And miniature painting is a case in point. The number of pictures that were produced during the latter half of the seventeenth century, although undoubtedly inferior in quality, is as great, if not greater, than in the previous period. Moreover, that many of these paintings were executed with the emperor's concurrence, if not at his express command, is shown by the fact that they often include a portrait of Aurangzeb himself. We see him hunting, travelling, reading, governing, and commanding his army, exactly as Jahangir and Shah Jahan were depicted in the miniatures of their time. But one fact may be noticed. In almost all these pictures he is shown as an old man, often bent almost double with age ; rarely is he represented even

in his prime, always in his declining years. And the question may be asked, did he, after riper judgement, and late in life, relent and give his royal assent to the continuance of the painters' art? Such may be one explanation, while another is that he was a man of moods, and did, in some of his more puritanical moments, lay the heavy hand of imperial restraint on the artistic aspirations of his subjects. Where, however, the skill of the painter served a useful purpose, Aurangzeb was ready to turn it to advantage, as one story at least plainly shows. His eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, after giving the emperor much anxiety, finally revolted against the parental rule, only to surrender a few months afterwards. Aurangzeb, who, like the Bourbon, never forgot and never forgave, in spite of his fondness for the erring prince, had him confined in the state prison at Gwalior to the end of his days. Continuing to retain some of his fatherly affection, but feeling that he could not trust himself in the actual presence of his favourite son, he arranged for portraits of the prisoner to be painted from time to time, and these were submitted to the emperor so that he should be kept regularly informed as to the state of his health.¹ This may seem a somewhat unusual rôle for the portrait painter, but in the East the artist often found himself utilized for such purposes, and, as will be shown in a later chapter, his skill in seizing a likeness was employed in a variety of ways. Like all the other members of his dynasty, Aurangzeb was possessed of the human weakness of vanity, and was fond of seeing himself occupying a prominent position in pictures of some of the stirring episodes of his career, especially his arduous campaigns in the Deccan, on which he was engaged for many years of his life. Plate XXX is a typical example of one of these, as well as representative of the art of the time. Many such paintings have come down to us, of sieges and the storming of fortresses, with Aurangzeb's figure in the foreground, clearly popular subjects with him and his people. The miniature here reproduced shows the emperor at the siege of Bijapur, which was captured after a desperate resistance in 1686. Before his golden-nimbed and almost crusader-like appearance stand two cowed individuals with silken bindings around their extended wrists, betokening an unconditional surrender to his majesty. It is significant of the art at this period of its decline. Gone is that attractive feeling of sincerity so characteristic of the earlier works, and in its place is an attempt at something which the artist could not really accomplish, an artificial rendering which is neither a portrait nor a picture. Much dramatic effect is discernible but on the whole it

¹ *Studies in Mughal India*, by J. Sarkar, Kuntaline Press, Calcutta, 1919, p. 78.

is a meretricious production, entirely deficient in that genuine note which distinguishes the art of Akbar and Jahangir.

With the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 the story of Mughal painting begins to draw to a close. This ruler devoted his great energies and the best of his life to extending the empire of the Mughals so as to comprise the whole of the sub-continent. But in so doing he lost sight of the fact that his want of toleration in the management of the internal affairs of his kingdom was at the same time seriously undermining its foundations. By his strength of character and personal authority only, he kept the kingdom intact, and, when these supports were removed, the collapse came with dramatic suddenness. Several puppet kings followed him, one after another, at short intervals, but no stable government appears to have been possible, and court intrigues leading to the assassination of three of Aurangzeb's successors is the story of the dynasty in the first half of the eighteenth century. Under these unsettled conditions the people could not be expected to carry on their occupations with any feeling of security, and the arts, including painting, suffered with the rest. Ultimately under the Emperor Muhammad Shah some semblance of authority was established and maintained until his decease in 1748. This date marks the passage of nearly a century since Aurangzeb began his reign. And, as the preceding century from A. D. 1550 to A. D. 1650 was a record of the life of the Mughal school, so the century from A. D. 1650 to A. D. 1750 is the story of its lingering death. One action of Muhammad Shah's is significant of the changed attitude of the ruling power towards the art of painting. It is related that he gave away to the Maharaja Siwai Jai Singh of Jaipur Akbar's own copy of the Persian version of the great Hindu epic, the *Mahabharata*. This sumptuous work, referred to by the Mughals as the *Razmnāma*, was fully illustrated by his Hindu artists, and was regarded as one of the most precious objects in the imperial library at Delhi. (See Plate XXXIII.) Whether parting with such a unique possession marked the beginning of the dispersal of the famous library, with its collection of illuminated manuscripts and pictures, is not clear, but it seems significant of the indifference of Muhammad Shah towards the artistic treasures of his predecessors. Gradually it becomes evident that the Mughal court at Delhi was fast losing its lustre, and, as other courts in the country began to shine more brightly, so its glory continued to fade. The artists, who, as we have seen, depended so much on wealthy patronage, soon realized this and began to desert the decaying capital for other and more flourishing centres of art. In 1732 the Governor of Oude,

having asserted his independence, set up a separate dynasty at Lucknow, and there maintained a state which endeavoured to rival the imperial court at Delhi in its palmiest days. A similar revolt against the weakening Mughal power took place in the Deccan, and led to an independent rule being established at Hyderabad. The splendour which the two rising governments maintained attracted several groups of painters to both these provincial capitals, and the change of environment in each case led to a corresponding change in the style of their art. There is a distinctive character in the work of the Lucknow artists, and there is also a difference in that of the pictures produced in Hyderabad. So came into use the word *qalam*, which may be freely translated by the word 'style', and has led Indian connoisseurs to describe a miniature as being of the Delhi *qalam*, the Lucknow *qalam*, or the Deccani *qalam*, just as Italian painting resolved itself into the Florentine, Venetian, or Umbrian schools.

As we have seen, the disintegration of the Mughal empire brought about the dispersal of the school of painting which belonged to it, and towards the end of the eighteenth century the Mughal artists were beginning to be scattered into the furthestmost parts of the peninsula. Some families still remained at the Mughal capital, not however in service, as this system was becoming a thing of the past, but as workmen in the bazaars. These were Muhammadans, and their descendants are now the modern miniature painters of Delhi, who still carry on a somewhat precarious trade in the capital of India to the present day. But many of the families of Hindus, either feeling the pressure of intoleration or the absolute necessity of patronage as an inspiration, travelled far afield in their search for sympathy and support. One group wandered east to Patna, in Behar, there to form a local style, or *qalam*, which was of some repute in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Others, probably an offshoot of the families who in the eighteenth century found homes in Hyderabad and Nekonda, migrated to Mysore, and even as far south as Tanjore, there to found small schools of painting which have some merit. The traditions of the Mysore painters, when they first arrived in the state, go back to the eighteenth century, but their real history begins with the first half of the nineteenth century, when they received much encouragement from an artistic ruler named Raja Krishnaraja Wodeyar. After his death in 1868 the art still lingered, but lacking support it began to decay and finally became extinct. The artists of the other southern branch of the Mughal school, who settled in Tanjore, are definitely stated to have come from Hindustan

in the reign of Raja Sarabhoji towards the end of the eighteenth century. Some of these are at the present time carrying on their art in the capital of the state, and their painting, in some aspects of its technique, shows a connexion with that of the Mughals. But long before these local *qalams* had begun to develop in their provincial centres, the Mughal school had, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist. Its death-knell was rung when the artists began to desert the Mughal capital on the decline of the court there. Pictures in the Delhi *qalam* are really the only good examples of the Mughal school, as they represent the art in its classical phase ; the remaining *qalams*, except in a few instances, depict it merely in its decay. When, owing to illness and age, the hand of the Emperor Shah Jahan began to relinquish its hold on the affairs of the empire, the art, too, had reached its first stage of dissolution. There were but few good pictures of the Mughal school of painting executed after the middle of the seventeenth century.

PART II. DESCRIPTIVE

V

AKBAR'S SCHOOL OF BOOK ILLUSTRATORS

IF we are to judge from Abu'l Fazl's contemporary account of the state of painting under the Emperor Akbar, it is evident that the Mughals had a high opinion of the skill of the court artists. For his remarks in the *A'in-i-Akbari* on the subject are quite clear. 'Here', writes the famous historian, 'the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation.' 'Here', he continues, 'most excellent painters are now to be found, and master-pieces, worthy of Bihzad, may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, &c., now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life.' This is high praise indeed. It should be explained, however, that Abu'l Fazl was a consummate flatterer, and his writings were largely devoted to a fulsome eulogy of his august master and all that he did. But although given to exaggeration, and although he had no expert knowledge of painting, the fact should not be overlooked that he was a refined and educated man, and probably the leading intellectual at Akbar's court. His opinion, therefore, in spite of its technical failings, carries some weight, and should receive consideration in any review of the painting of his time. Pictorial art under the Mughals, according to the same authority, specialized in two directions, that of portraiture and of book-illustrating. Of the former very few authentic examples remain, as the albums of celebrities prepared at Akbar's order have been broken up and dispersed. But of the pictured manuscripts quite a number have been preserved, from which it is possible to gain a comprehensive idea of this aspect of Mughal painting. As this art had been derived from Persia, it is only natural that at first it imitated in every respect the productions of the Safavid artists, even to confining its activities almost entirely to illustrating the classical literature of ancient Iran. So we find Abu'l Fazl recording that 'Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with

pictures, and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. The story of Hamzah was represented in twelve volumes, and clever painters made the astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundred passages of the story. The Chingiz-namah, the Zafarnamah, this book, the Razmnamah, the Ramayan, the Nal Daman, the Kalilah wa Damnah, the Ayar Danish, &c., were all illustrated.' Several of the actual manuscripts here referred to, and containing the original pictures by the Akbari artists, together with a number of others not in Abu'l Fazl's list, have survived, and we are thus presented with adequate material for study. These works are scattered among various museums, art galleries, libraries, and collections, but the principal ones are located as follows : In the British Museum there is a copy of the *Bāburnāma*, or Babur's *Memoirs* (Or. 3714), and a *Dārābnāma* (Or. 4615); the latter is an edition of the *Shāhnāma*, or Book of Kings, prepared in the form of a series of stories by a writer of the name of Abu 'Tahir. The same institution also possesses a small volume by the poet Jami (Or. 1362 N.B. 36), and another minute manuscript catalogued as Grenville Or. 7573. Exhibited in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, is a series of one hundred and seventeen pictures from the *Akbarnāma*, or 'History of Akbar' (Clarke MSS.), as well as twenty-five illuminated pages from the celebrated copy of the *Amir Hamzah*, or 'Story of Hamzah' (No. 1513-1883, I.S.). Both manuscripts are included in Abu'l Fazl's list in the *A'in-i-Akbari*. The Museum also displays a few illustrations from a fragmentary copy of the *Bāburnāma* (*Waqi'at-i-Babari*, I.M. 262). Of the remaining large number of paintings which originally comprised the *Amir Hamzah*, sixty-one are in the Museum for Art and Industry at Vienna, and one or two stray leaves are preserved in other European collections. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, possesses a copy of Jami's *Bahāristan* or 'Season of Spring' (Elliott 254), and the collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins of Malvern, Worcestershire, contains a manuscript of *Nizāmi's Khamsah*, both of which are illustrated. In India there are two large volumes profusely pictured, a *Razmnāma*, the property of H.H. the Maharaja of Jaipur, mentioned in the *A'in-i-Akbari* list, and a *Timūrnāma* (*Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriyya*), or 'History of the House of Timur', in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur.

On many of the illustrations in the manuscripts here referred to, there are inscriptions which are written with the object of identifying the pictures with the artists who are presumed to have painted them. From these it is possible to prepare a list of over a hundred artists

who worked in the school organized by Akbar. But before any description of the pictures or the painters can be attempted a digression seems necessary in order that the meaning, and specially the authenticity, of these inscriptions may be discussed. In the first place, although they give their names, none of them is in the writing of the artist himself. They were subsequently added by the clerks or *munshis*, employed either at the court of Akbar or in the office of the imperial library. In most cases the artists were Hindus, and so were not likely to be acquainted with the Persian script in which they are invariably written. A few exceptions occur, but they are rare. As an example the very minute inscriptions executed with a brush, which are on the picture reproduced on Plate XI, so fine as to be invisible in the photograph, may be by the hand of the artist, who would be a Muhammadan. Being illiterate, he spelt the Hindu name of Raja Todar Mall phonetically, and as if he were a Muhammadan. Occasionally, where the name is microscopically inscribed on some detail of the picture, it may have been written by the artist himself, as for instance the miniature (fol. 21 b) by Muhammad Khan in the album of Dara Shikoh in the India Office Library. Plate XXIX is a picture by a Hindu artist, and an inscription in Hindi characters, also not discernible in the reproduction, which contains the name of Hunhar, may be in the handwriting of the painter. But it is clear that all the illustrations in the Akbari books were originally issued by the artists, the majority of whom were Hindus, unsigned, and the names which they now bear were written later by Muhammadan and very often by Persian clerks. Unfortunately the reliability of all these inscriptions is open to question, especially when they are subjected to a close scrutiny. In the case of a number of pictures, notably in the British Museum *Dārābnāma*, frequent corrections in the artists' names are visible, and it is evident that the work of labelling was not carefully done. On many of the paintings the artists' names have been wrongly written, and afterwards others substituted when the mistake was discovered. The clerk concerned thought that his faults might be mitigated by deleting his first incorrect inscription with a smear of gold paint, and then writing across it another name. There was evidently considerable uncertainty in the office responsible for this work as to which artist painted which picture. To test the accuracy of the scribes, the obvious procedure would be to compare a number of pictures bearing the same name but in different manuscripts in order to see whether they were similar in style or workmanship. There is, however, a somewhat unusual complication in any attempt at classification on these terms, as it was the custom for

several painters to collaborate on one picture, so that it is rare to find any miniature which is entirely the work of one artist. As an example, although pictures with an inscription including the name of the famous Akbari artist Daswanth are not uncommon, there is no specimen of his painting which is the sole product of his own hand. In all his designs some portion of the work, either the drawing or the painting, was entrusted to other exponents, whose names, included with Daswanth's, are written on the margin. That such a method of partnership was common is proved by the Emperor Jahangir's comment quoted in Chapter III, in which, if his statement is to be literally accepted, even the features in a portrait may be the work of more than one artist. The system, which strikes the occidental as a somewhat unusual one, seems to have been derived from Persia, where it is observable in a few pictures of the Safavid school, although it was left to the early Mughal artists to elaborate the practice. In the majority of Akbari pictures two artists only have combined, the one making the *tarrah*¹ or sketch, and the other doing the '*aml*', work, or painting. On occasion, however, there may also have been a third who did the *chihra-numā* or portraiture, and, very rarely, a fourth who supplied the *surat* or figure-drawing. In a few pictures the inscription also states that one of the artists undertook the *rang-āmezi*, or colouring. In these circumstances it is easy to understand that the clerk who wrote the inscriptions was sometimes uncertain to whom the various parts of the work were to be apportioned. The difficulties in any comparison between the different pictures, certain parts of which are presumed to be the work of one artist, when his collaborators have not been the same, will likewise become intelligible.

Such a system of production seems to suggest that the painting of Mughal pictures was more of a craft than a fine art, and that it was conducted in the following manner. The painters were assembled in a hall or workshop, and there, under a head man, each was employed in executing those parts of a picture with which he was most familiar. The actual composition, or 'lay out', of the miniature would be sketched in by the chief artist, which, when approved would be passed from hand to hand, one artist drawing the figures, another painting the background, a third putting in the features,

¹ The Persian word *tarh* or *tarrah* has a variety of meanings, but in this connexion it may be interpreted in two ways. In one it may mean 'foundation', in which case it seems to refer to the original sketch or

design being the work of the artist mentioned. In the other it may be translated as 'mode' or 'style', when it may indicate that the picture is 'in the style of' or 'after' the artist named.

and so on, until each had completed the portion of the work allotted to him and the whole was finished. It is quite possible that the method thus outlined was not altogether a device of the artists themselves, but a plan conceived by their patron in a supreme endeavour to obtain what he considered the finest results. This potentate would be quite capable of demanding that the best background painter at the court be employed on the landscape, the best portrait painter on the faces, the best animal painter on the animals, fondly believing that by such means he would get a superlative work of art. On the other hand a similar form of collaboration marks the system by which most of the craft work of India is produced, the divisions of labour being sharply defined. As an example, in the trade of the metal-worker, the *thathiyar* who hammers out the shape of the vessel is distinct from the *chataira* who repoussés the pattern with which it is decorated. In the same way the picture was arranged to be the work of a number of craftsmen, each separate individual being trained to do his own particular portion to perfection, thus taking his share in the production as the whole. It should be explained, however, that painting in this manner was in vogue only for a limited time. Although Jahangir speaks of it as if it were a common procedure, he is clearly referring to the painting of the past, for there are few signs of it in the pictures of his reign. Under Akbar for a short period it seems to have been freely practised, but only as a passing phase, probably encouraged by that monarch with the vague idea that by so doing he was improving the art and increasing the output of his school. Of the many illustrated manuscripts produced in his time, in only three, the Jaipur *Razmnāma*, the Bankipur *Tīmūrnāma*, and the South Kensington *Akbarnāma*, is it employed to any great extent. In the other works which have survived, occasionally two artists' names are inscribed on the same picture, but this is the exception rather than the rule.

Of all the illustrated manuscripts of the Mughals that have been handed down to us, the fragments of the *Amir Hamzah* preserved at the South Kensington and Vienna Museums are the earliest. Much of this stupendous work, as we have already seen, was executed in the reign previous to that of Akbar, so that a strict classification would refer to it as belonging to the school of Humayun. Begun by the Tabrizi artist Mir Sayyid Ali about the year 1550 in Kabul, at the latter emperor's order, it was probably not finished until twenty-five years later, at Agra, under Akbar's régime. In spite of the long period it took to complete the manuscript, and the great political changes that occurred while it was in progress, the same style of work

was maintained throughout the whole series of 1,375 paintings which form its illustrative portion. As would be expected the style is fundamentally Persian, although there is much in it which shows an atmosphere and environment different from the productions of either the Timurid or Safavid schools. One of the pages is reproduced on Plate VII, and illustrates the general character of the painting; on the reverse of each folio is a written description of the incident depicted, the whole comprising the story or 'Romance of Hamzah' (*Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah*). Hamzah was the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, and the 'Romance' is a fantastic narrative founded on the original adventures of this hero. As records of the life and customs of the early Mughals the pictures are unique. Unfortunately in many of the paintings the faces have been clumsily obliterated by a later zealot, but except for this they are in an excellent state of preservation. They display quite plainly the circumstances in which they were produced, the general scope of the work being devised by Mir Sayyid Ali in his inimitable Safavid style, but in the actual painting he was assisted by others, either Persians or Indians. Apart from any other qualities that it may possess, the *Amir Hamzah* is of importance in providing that definite connecting link between the Persian and Indian schools.¹

The pictures of the *Amir Hamzah*, however, stand in a class by themselves; they are too obviously of Persian extraction to be considered as belonging to the Mughal school proper. It is to the other manuscripts in the list of illustrated books prepared under Akbar's order that we must turn for representative specimens of the work of this school. These resolve themselves into groups in the order in which it is presumed they were executed. In the earliest group may be placed the two British Museum manuscripts, the *Dārābnāma* and the *Bāburnāma*. The next to be produced were no doubt the Jaipur *Razmnāma* and the Bankipur *Timūrnāma*, which constituted the second group. Following these come the Bodleian *Bahāristan* and Mr. Dyson Perrins's *Khamsah*, forming the third group, while last of all, and placed in a class by itself, for reasons which will be explained hereafter, is the South Kensington *Akbar-nāma*. A general survey of all the paintings contained in these manuscripts reveals the fact that as a whole they illustrate a style of work different from that executed at any other period of the Mughal school. The dominant note is undoubtedly their Indian character.

¹ See *Indian Drawings: Twelve Mogul Hamzah*. Text by C. Stanley Clarke; *Paintings of the School of Humayun (sixteenth century) illustrating the Romance of Amir* Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolios, London, 1921.

While they owed something to the productions of the Persians, notably for their small size and effect, in every other particular they reflect plainly the temperament of the indigenous artist. The reason for this is not far to seek. At no time in its history was the Hindu element so strong in the Mughal school of painting as during the latter half of Akbar's reign, that is, towards the end of the sixteenth century. Abu'l Fazl's expression of admiration at the skill of the Hindu painters has been already quoted, and he had good cause for recording it ; for by far the majority of the artists who produced the paintings which are contained in these manuscripts were Hindus. And the result of the Indian talent, drawn from all parts of the Mughal empire, shows its influence in the most pronounced manner in the illustrative painting now being described.

A short account of each group of pictured manuscripts will be now undertaken, in the sequence in which it is believed they were produced. The oldest group, as already stated, consists of the *Dārābnāma* and the *Bāburnāma* in the British Museum, both of which were probably finished about 1575. They are so classified because on the whole the illustrations in these two works are more immature and uneven in treatment than in any of the other volumes of the series. There is little of the Persian element discernible, and much of the painting is essentially Indian in its character and handling. As with the *Amir Hamzah*, so with these two books it is quite possible to realize the conditions under which they were produced. The illustrative part was handed out to a large staff of painters of mixed qualifications, and some with limited experience in this particular branch of pictorial art. They were left very much to their own devices, supervised in some respects, but in the main allowed a fairly free hand in their work. It is obvious that a few had received more training than others, and one or two were fairly expert in their craft, but the majority of them were in that stage where they had not yet mastered the complete technicalities of miniature painting. The defects of their work lie in the loose and careless drawing and the crudity of the colour-schemes. Many show every sign of being the production of a mural decorator accustomed to covering large surfaces with a full and free brush. In his first attempts to adapt his art to the confined space of a page in a book, he shows his inexperience, as his broad flat washes, slovenly applied, plainly testify. Moreover small brushes were not to his liking, and his pigments were not always well prepared. Nevertheless some of the illustrations rise to a fairly high level, especially those of the *Bāburnāma*. Among these the picture reproduced on Plate XXXII is a typical example, and

shows Babur visiting the palace of Jalal Khan near Agra (fol. 478); it is inscribed with the name of Dhanraj. Two painters from Gujarāt—Bhim and Sur, the latter on fol. 295—have contributed good specimens of their work, while the pictures by Tiriyya, specially that on fol. 274, and those by Kesu, one of the artists mentioned in the *A'in*, may be likewise noticed. On the other hand the painting by Bhagwan is crude, and so is that of Chatesh, Gobind, and Banwari, while Mukhlis, afterwards to do good work in other books, was clearly at this stage only a tyro. From this reference to the illustrations in the *Bāburnāma*, we may turn to the companion volume of the group, the *Dārābnāma*, and review in a similar manner its pictorial contents. In it may be studied paintings by six of the artists in Abu'l Fazl's list, of whom Sanwlah has produced some spirited drawings (folios 11, 39, 40, 67, 108), but the one which depicts a game of polo is by far the best (fol. 11 rev.).¹ There is an illustration by the same artist in the *Bāburnāma* (fol. 133), but no resemblance is discernible between it and any of the series inscribed with his name in the *Dārābnāma*. In general effect the former is strong, hard, and somewhat unsympathetic in its treatment, while most of the latter are light and atmospheric, especially in the representation of the background and accessories. It may be remarked, however, that, like most oriental artists, the Mughal painters were noted for the variability of their style, which they often changed, sometimes to suit their subject, and sometimes probably at the order of their patron. Among the other noticeable paintings in the *Dārābnāma* are those bearing the names of Nanha (fol. 24), Basawan (fol. 34), and Miskin (fol. 101), all of which show no little individuality.

Owing to their similarity in many respects, the Jaipur *Razmnāma* and the Bankipur *Timūrnāma* form themselves into another group, placed second in the list as both were no doubt executed at a date subsequent to the two manuscripts just described, probably about 1580. The *Razmnāma* is an illustrated adaptation of the Hindu epic the *Mahabharata*, and, as its story contained much that was foreign to the Muhammadans, the pictorial part is, with few exceptions, the work of Hindu artists. Akbar showed an active interest in the ancient Sanskrit literature of India, which was manifested in his demand for the preparation of Persian translations of several Hindu classics, among these being, as Abu'l Fazl states, the *Razmnāma* and the *Ramayana*. Several copies of both works with illustrations appear to have been produced at this time, as Akbar in his zeal required some of his nobles to order them for their own use. He also kept

¹ See *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, by Binyon and Arnold, Plate VII.

a few spare copies himself with the object of presenting them to persons of high estate whom he wished to gratify. These copies were not always of the same high standard ; inferior or abridged editions were sometimes executed for less exalted officials, but the Jaipur manuscript appears to be the original one specially prepared for preservation in the imperial library at Agra. According to the inscription on the pictures the duty of illustrating the *Razmnāma* was entrusted mainly to the three leading Hindu artists at Akbar's court, namely, Daswanth, Basawan, and Lal. These three experts were concerned in the majority of the paintings, but in each case they collaborated with another artist so that the work as a whole occupied a large staff. In the two manuscripts comprising this group the method of employing more than one painter on the same composition is most pronounced, very few of the pictures in either being the work of one individual. From the nature of its contents it will be understood that in the subject-matter of the *Razmnāma* there is much that is unreal and fantastic, and some of the scenes must have tried severely the ingenuity of the artists in representing them on paper with any degree of success. Plate XXXIII, one of the illustrations taken from this work, will give some idea of the style. It depicts Nala, the king of Nishadha, and his wife Damayanti, the story of whose adventures is one of the most touching in the whole of this great drama. It was painted by a Muhammadan artist named Sharif, assisted by Kesu, a Hindu. The other volume of this group, the *Timūrnāma* at Bankipur, as it concerns itself with an entirely different subject, at first sight appears to bear little similarity to the *Razmnāma*, but a closer study shows that in workmanship there is considerable resemblance. There is the same confused composition in many of these pictures, the same loss of effect by the introduction of too many elements, the same over-elaboration of the scene, but, on the other hand, both contain a sumptuous array of colour, and a sense of action and vitality in the figures, that compensates for much that is not always acceptable to the critical eye. In both these books, as distinct from those of the previous group, there is more equality in the workmanship, and it seems as if the artists who prepared them were better organized, and on a better understanding with one another, so that the pictures throughout are as a whole more even in quality. The *Timūrnāma* comprises over a hundred pictures of incidents in what is described as ' the life of His Majesty Amir Timur, the august hero, the world conqueror, and that of His Majesty's descendants down to the 22nd year of Akbar, may his deeds be luminous '. A specimen of one of the pictures (fol. 3 b) is repro-

duced on Plate XXXIV, and depicts a night scene in a mosque with the *muezzin* calling the faithful to prayer. The design was sketched by Madhu Kalan, but the painting was by the brush of Tulsi Kalan.¹ Both books represent a vast amount of labour, and must have occupied a large number of artists some considerable time.

As in the two previous instances the next group of manuscripts illustrated by Akbar's school of painters is also composed of two books, the *Bahāristan* in the Bodleian Library, and the *Khamsah*, the property of Mr. Dyson Perrins. They represent this art in its maturity. Much of the high quality of the painting is due to the fact that, with a few exceptions, each picture is the sole handiwork of one artist. Both books are also somewhat smaller than the others, contain considerably fewer illustrations, and each picture is evidently a supreme individual effort on the part of the artist whose name it bears. It is true that in some cases this effort has not been an unqualified success, but on the whole the majority of the pictures are good examples of the miniature painters' art. The *Bahāristan* is a collection of poems in praise of the season of spring, and was composed by the famous Persian poet Jami. Sixteen of Akbar's leading painters assisted in the embellishment of the Bodleian copy, of whom five are included in Abu'l Fazl's list and have each contributed a full-page picture; they are Miskin, Madhu, Mukund, Basawan, and Lal. By far the finest miniature in the book is the one by Basawan, which is reproduced on Plate XXXV. It fully bears out Abu'l Fazl's praise of this artist, and, although there are miniatures bearing his name in other works, usually however with a collaborator, it is probably one of the best examples of his brush. Another picture from the same manuscript, by the artist Lal, is shown on Plate XL, Fig. 1. For brilliant colouring, careful drawing, and minute finish, the paintings in this book are only equalled by those in Mr. Dyson Perrins's *Khamsah*, the other volume of the group. The *Khamsah*, or Five Treasures, is a collection of five *mathnawis* by Nizami, a Persian poet of the twelfth century. The writing of Mr. Perrins's copy was executed by Abd ur-Rahim, a calligraphist under the Mughal emperor, who, on account of his excellent workmanship was styled *Ambar-i-qalam*, or 'amber-pen'. It bears the

¹ As an instance of the unreliability of the names on these paintings, one picture in the Bankipur *Timūrnāma* bears the name of Bihzad. It has no resemblance to the work of this painter. At all times the Persian master's name was one to conjure with, and we see it imposed on miniatures

which could not by any stretch of the imagination have belonged even to his school. See Plate LI, on which his name has been clumsily inscribed by a recent hand. Nothing could be more remote than the style of this painting from that of Bihzad.

date equivalent to A.D. 1593, and was therefore executed towards the end of Akbar's reign, so that it is probably one of the latest of this series of illustrated books that have been handed down to us. Thirteen of the most prominent painters at Akbar's court were employed in the illumination of this manuscript, seven of whom are mentioned in the *A'in*. One of the pictures, reproduced on Plate XXXVI, is inscribed with the name of the Persian artist Abdus Samad, who must have been an old man, over seventy years of age at least, when the book was finished. Yet the handling shows all the vigour and spirit of youth; there is no sign of failing in the clear outline and sense of vitality which are its outstanding features. It is difficult to believe that it is an original work by one who, many years before, began his career in the Safavid school at Tabriz under Shah Tahmasp. Two other miniatures from this work may be studied on Plates XXXVII and XL, Fig. 2. The former is by Farrukh Chela (not to be confused with Farrukh Beg) and depicts an incident in the story of *Laila and Majnun*; the latter is by Lal.

Of the list of illustrated manuscripts one volume only now remains to be discussed. This is the copy of the *Akbar-nāma* in the Indian Section at South Kensington. On the fly-leaf it bears an inscription, which has every appearance of being authentic, relating that 'on the fifth Azar of the first year (1605) this book was entered in the library of this suppliant at the gate of God. Written by Nur ud-Din Jahangir, son of Akbar Padshah.' With few exceptions each picture in the series is the handiwork of more than one artist, the names of those concerned being written on the margin of each folio by a scribe. It is doubtful whether the writing is contemporary with the painting. The artists whose names are on these pictures were all the principal painters at the court of Akbar, and were practically the same staff that illustrated the Jaipur *Razm-nāma* and the Bankipur *Timūr-nāma*. As a whole the paintings in the *Akbar-nāma* display a similarity in treatment and an evenness in technique which, in view of the number of artists employed on the work, is somewhat singular. While there are some differences between an illustration inscribed with the name of Basawan and another on which may be read that of Farrukh Beg, the pictures, in their actual craftsmanship, might have been painted by the same hand. The criticism may be pushed even farther. While the picture by Farrukh Beg illustrated on Plate XXXVIII, recording an historic interview between Mir Mu'izz ul-Mulk and Bahadur Khan in 1567, is reminiscent of the Kalmack's style, in its handling it is very different from the picture ascribed to the same artist and reproduced on Plate XIV.

Incidentally the former painting is one of the few folios in the South Kensington *Akbarnāma* bearing only one artist's name, a fact which aids considerably in any comparison with other specimens of Farrukh's handiwork. The contrast, however, between these two examples, as proved by the reproductions, is too obvious to need any detailed description. Of another painter whose style is distinctive the same remarks apply. Plate XXXIX shows a stirring incident from the South Kensington collection in which the Emperor Akbar is depicted as taking a prominent part. The 'Great Mogul' may be seen in the picture mounted on an elephant engaged in madly pursuing another across a bridge of boats, to the damage of this frail structure and the injury and fright of many people who were unfortunate enough to be in the vicinity. Basawan collaborated with Chatar in the production of this picture, which is one of the most spirited of the whole series. In its details it bears some resemblance to an illustration on folio 34 in the British Museum *Dārābnāma*, also attributed to Basawan, but otherwise there is no noticeable similarity. Many other artists' works in this copy of the *Akbarnāma*, whose styles are less familiar, may be subjected to the same process of comparison with the same unconvincing results. This volume of pictures, therefore, although inscribed with the names of the most famous of Akbar's book illustrators, does not as a whole seem to correspond in quality to the other groups known to belong to the Akbari school. The actual workmanship may be as good, but in its general character the South Kensington series is undeniably inferior. From this it may be inferred that it is a copy, nevertheless a contemporary copy, as the inscription on the fly-leaf, the authenticity of which is unquestionable, plainly demonstrates. And in the wording of the inscription probably lies a clue to the otherwise unaccountable character of the work. It records that Jahangir placed the book in the imperial library on his accession in A. D. 1605, thus leading to the assumption that it was his own personal copy. Such a copy must have been made for him towards the end of the sixteenth century, while he was yet a prince, and prepared at his own request from the original volume previously executed for the Emperor Akbar. The original, on which all the leading artists of the state were employed, has disappeared; Jahangir's duplicate only has survived. For the preparation of this copy Prince Salim, as he was then, was not in a position to claim the service of the best painters, and was obliged to fall back on a secondary group, not sufficiently skilful to be included in Akbar's state school. This staff was retained by the prince while the commission was in hand, and it comprised a number of workmen capable

of producing an acceptable duplicate, but not men of the first rank. The original pictures prepared for Akbar were most probably executed by the artists whose names are in Jahangir's copy, as traces of their style are occasionally discernible, but it is hardly possible to regard the South Kensington *Akbarnāma* as the actual handiwork of Akbar's school of book illustrators.

From this general survey of the illustrative art of Akbar's school of painting, we may now turn to a study of the painters themselves. It must be realized, however, that information with regard to these is distinctly fragmentary; of the majority little more than their names is known, and then only because Akbar's industrious, but not always reliable, clerical staff wrote them, like labels, on their pictures. Except for Abu'l Fazl's description of a few of the leading ones, the Mughal painters are very vague personages, articulate only in their art, which on its part tells more of the royal circle around them than of their own individuality. Unlike the artists of almost all other oriental schools, the Chinese or Japanese for instance, no details of their lives have been preserved, no characteristic sayings have been recorded, no anecdotes related, even portraits of them are rare, although they painted likenesses in profusion of those for whom they worked; undescribed and undefined they stand, a shadowy group in the background of the royal drama in which they took such a noteworthy part, never once stepping out into the light. The only member of the school whose career can be traced from beginning to end is the pioneer of the movement, Abdus Samad. Some details of his early years have already been given, but his subsequent progress is interesting. Soon after arriving in Kabul, Humayun was so impressed with the Persian painter's skill that he gave him the title of *Shirin-qalam* or 'Sweet Pen', while shortly after Akbar came to the throne he conferred on him the high official rank of *chaharsadi*. The latter monarch also, 'on account of his former services, paid him great honour and reverence'. The respect that Akbar showed to the artist, and of which Abu'l Fazl makes a special note, arose from the fact that Abdus Samad had been his tutor, having taught him drawing at Kabul. The deference that an Indian, throughout the whole of his life, displays towards those, however humble, who have at any time acted as his instructors, is one of the most attractive traits in his character. Abdus Samad excelled in portraiture, notably in delineating the features and expression of the emperor, so much so that it is recorded that 'his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit'. It was, however,

in his capacity as a teacher, of which his royal patron had personal knowledge, that he achieved the greatest renown. For Abu'l Fazl remarks that 'from the instruction they received, the Khwajah's pupils became masters'. But his crowning success was when he had trained and brought out the famous Hindu artist Daswanth, who, having been 'handed over to the Khwajah, in a short time surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age'. Afterwards his services seem to have become so valuable that he was withdrawn from the school, and promoted about the year 1577 to the appointment of Master of the Mint, which distinguished position he filled with great credit for several years. The result of his association with this department may be observed in the high character of the Mughal coinage of the period, which is not only remarkable for the purity of its metal and fullness of weight, but for its very fine artistic appearance. It is not difficult to see how such perfection was attained. In its production the leading poet was commissioned to compose the couplet, the most skilful calligraphist inscribed it, the ablest sculptor modelled it, and the best engraver fashioned the die. And over all was placed the first artist of the state, so that the coin should be the most finished artistic production of its kind. Under such unique conditions it is not surprising that the work of Akbar's mint is considered superior to that of any other country of the period. The action of the Mughal emperor in this connexion is significant of his attitude generally towards the subject of art, and his application of it to such practical purposes. Abdus Samad completed his career by becoming Diwan or Revenue Commissioner of Multan, apparently an honour given to him in his old age. After this nothing further is known except that the family name was maintained in even greater dignity by his son Sharif, but not in the sphere of art. It was as an administrator that the young Persian made his reputation, rising above all his contemporaries, and, as Akbar had honoured the father so Jahangir rewarded the son, conferring on him 'the lofty title of Amir ul-Umara (premier noble of the realm), to which no title of any servant is superior'.

Of the remaining painters of foreign origin or extraction, very few details are available in addition to those already given. Mir Sayyid Ali, the other member of the Safavid school, does not appear to have attained to the high official position of his colleague Abdus Samad, although he was probably the better artist. Abu'l Fazl certainly honours him with the first place in his list, and alludes to him in glowing terms. 'From the time of his introduction at Court, the ray of royal favour shone upon him. He had made himself

famous in his art, and has met with much success.' But beyond the historian's reference to his ability we know nothing further of the Sayyid's life or his later connexion with the Mughal school. Another foreign painter, Farrukh Beg, as we have seen, is briefly mentioned in Akbar's reign, and remarks about his skill are made by Jahangir in his memoirs, which have been already quoted. His work should not be confused, however, with that of two later artists, Farrukh Khurd and Farrukh Chela, who although they might have been his disciples, and accordingly took his name, never approached the status of their Kalmack master. Among other painters who figure in the inscriptions on the Akbari pictures, but who are presumed to be not of Indian birth, are Khusrau Qulī and Jamshid. The former was apparently of Turki descent, while the latter was probably a Persian; both contribute illustrations to the British Museum *Bāburnāma*. A very able Muhammadan artist, who went by the name of Miskin, may not have been a native of India. He was responsible for a number of pictures which are to be found in most of the Akbari manuscripts, including one forceful example in the Bodleian *Bahāristan*. To complete the list of Muhammadan artists at Akbar's court, although not exactly of alien origin, we may include a group of five painters from Kashmir, a country which for centuries has maintained a high artistic tradition.

But with one or two exceptions, as for instance two Muhammadans from Lahore, the remaining members of Akbar's school of painters were all Hindus. Most of these were drawn from four castes, the *Kayastha*, *Chiterā*, *Silāvat*, and *Khātī*, of whom the most renowned were the Kayasthas, or writers. It may be remarked that the Chiterās were originally metal-workers, the Silāvat or Salāt, stone masons, and the Khātī, wood-carvers. On the other hand at least four of Akbar's artists were of the *Kahār*, or palanquin-bearer caste, including the famous Daswanth. The *Kahār* is of lowly origin, and, although a 'clean *Sūdra*', is not numbered among the 'twice-born'. But Daswanth rose superior to his humble birth, and by sheer genius came to be regarded as the ablest painter of his time. His artistic gift displayed itself early in life, and in his efforts to find expression he used 'to draw and paint figures even on walls'. By accident his natural ability was first revealed to the emperor himself, for 'one day the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered', and he was handed over to Abdus Samad for training. In a short space of time he surpassed all the other painters, and became 'the first master of the age'. Unhappily he was subject to fits of depression, and finally his mind became unhinged. One day he stabbed

himself with a dagger, and died two days later. This tragic circumstance apparently took place in the year 1584, and, although he barely attained to middle age, yet he 'left many masterpieces'. It is to be regretted that no works by the hand of this artist alone have survived, but there are many in which he has collaborated with others. In the Jaipur *Razmnāma* at least twenty-four pictures bear his name, and there is also one in the Bankipur *Timūrnāma* (fol. 2), in which he combined with Jag Jiwan, but none of these is a convincing example of his art. Daswanth's caste-fellows all distinguished themselves in their profession, as the Kesus, father and son, are both mentioned in the *A'in*, while Paras and Ibrahim also did good work; their pictures may be studied in the *Bāburnāma* and *Dārābnāma* in the British Museum, and in the Bankipur *Timūrnāma*.

An artist who competed with Daswanth for the premier place in the school was his co-religionist Basawan. Of the individuality of this painter little is known except Abu'l Fazl's brief note which says 'in backgrounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so, that many critics prefer him to Daswanth'. But of his work there are sufficient examples extant to enable us to study his style with some success. He possessed a peculiar touch which distinguishes his work from all others. Plate XXXV, taken from the Bodleian *Bahāristan*, is an example, from which we can see what a very able artist he was. It depicts, as the inscription states, a noted saint named Shaikh Abu'l Abbas Kassab addressing some sage remarks to a dervish who is engaged in repairing his garments. In general effect the picture is not striking: for an Indian painting it is chiefly remarkable for its subdued and harmonious colouring and softened outlines. The dervish is dressed in an olive green garment, while the Shaikh is in blue with an orange shawl. From the plumage of the peacocks one would expect a brilliant note, but even this is toned down slightly to accord with the general scheme. There is some careful drawing in the goats in the foreground, and the whole picture shows signs of studied refinement. If it is compared with others bearing the same name, as for instance fol. 34 in the British Museum *Dārābnāma*, although there are differences, a certain similarity in handling may be discerned. Except these two examples, however, in all the other pictures by Basawan he is associated with another artist, as in the Jaipur *Razmnāma*, where his name occurs twenty-nine times, and although here and there his distinctive touch may be identified, these do not add much to our knowledge of his style.

Lal is another artist mentioned in the *A'in*, and of his handiwork there are one or two specimens in which he had had no collaborator. He also is responsible for twenty-nine illustrations in the Jaipur *Razmnāma*, but few, if any, of these are his own unaided work. In comparing one of his pictures in the *Bahāristan* with another in Mr. Perrins's *Khamsah*, the similarity between the two is so marked that one suspects him of being an artist of limited originality; the resemblance may, however, be only a coincidence. Both are shown on Plate XL. Fig. 1 is from the *Bahāristan*, and illustrates the story of a friendship that existed between a king and a *faqir*, who are both seen in the centre of the picture. Fig. 2 is from the *Khamsah*. In both miniatures the general effect of the colouring is bright and vivacious, but a little confused. The landscape, and the background altogether, is very charming, the rocks, trees, and castellated buildings lead up to the pearly glow of the distance, which itself merges into a gold-dust sky. The figures in brightly hued costumes show up well against a lemon yellow ground, probably the artist's method of expressing the effect of sunlight on desert earth.

The styles of many other painters of Akbar's reign may be described, but such a proceeding will not bring us any nearer to these men or reveal any details of their actual personality. Some of them, however, resolve themselves into small groups, as for instance the Kashmiri painters already mentioned, but more proficient than these were six very able painters from Gujarāt. Western India has a great artistic reputation, as seen in its architecture and its handicrafts, and the artists whom Akbar obtained from Ahmadabad and its neighbourhood contributed an important Rājasthānī element to the school. Two of the cleverest of the Gujarātīs were Bhim and Sur, who executed good drawings in the British Museum *Bāburnāma*, while another of the name of Kesu specialized in studies of trees and plants in the same manuscript. An analysis of the personnel of the school reveals one noticeable fact, which is, that in no sense was it a local effort, or a revival of a provincial movement stimulated into life by the proximity of a sympathetic court. On the contrary it had a wide geographical radius and included such diverse peoples as Gujarātīs and Turkis, Kashmiris and Kalmacks, Persians and Punjabis, all gathered into one place and working at one person's command. In collecting these people together, however, Akbar was merely carrying out the custom of his race and age. We have seen that the sovereigns of his time were wont to obtain their craftsmen from far and wide, sending long distances for those who had the greatest reputation. His Mongol ancestor Hulagu Khan brought

artisans from Pekin to prepare the courts of his capital at Maragha in Azarbaijan. His Timurid forbears sent to Hindustan for stone carvers to decorate their cities on the Oxus, while his grandfather Babur secured his chief architect from Albania. Afterwards his grandson Shah Jahan in working out his great building schemes made use of every expert he could command, from a Turkish engineer and a Shirazi inscription-writer, to an Italian lapidary and a renegade French jeweller. And Akbar's plan for his school of painting was conceived on the same broad lines. Not only were artists obtained from other countries noted for the excellence of their craftsmanship, but the confines of his own expanding territories were searched for the talent which his instincts told him they might contain. So this artistic community, comprising many diverse races and several creeds which he had brought together, grew into a school, and flourished ; it flourished because it was animated with one object, which was to produce work of such a quality that it would earn the approval of the great mind responsible for its inception.

VI

THE MERIDIAN

(A. D. 1610 TO 1625)

MUGHAL painting may be considered to have reached its maturity under the Emperor Jahangir. At this point in its evolution it had ceased to copy the pictures of the Persian artists, and it had also learnt to control the dictates of the indigenous mural decorator, taking only what was good from both. In a word, the two arts had become fused into one. Moreover, the painting of this time was not yet impregnated to any serious extent with the art of the West. The period thus indicated, when Mughal painting was independent of these different influences, is a narrow one. It is fairly well defined on its earlier side because it is marked by Jahangir's personal interest in the subject, the results of which became noticeable about the year 1610. The other limit is, however, less certain. European elements began to assert themselves in many ways during this emperor's reign, but without any serious effects on the actual character of the art. Probably with Jahangir's failing health about the year 1625, when the vigour of his supervision declined, the end of the short period of its culmination may be recorded. There was much good work executed both before and after these dates, but the school was undoubtedly at its meridian during these fifteen years. Jahangir's treatment of the subject differed somewhat from his father's. Much of the work ordered by the latter, as shown in the previous chapter, took the form of illustrations to the Persian and Indian classics, mythical and imaginative compositions, in which the artist's fancy played an important part. Jahangir, however, believed more in 'the living present', and his artists therefore were mainly employed in making realistic pictures of incidents in his daily life. Wherever he went a small staff of court painters accompanied him, ready at all times to put on record any event that pleased their sovereign's fancy. Of these artists, however, very little is known, and this fact alone shows the difference between the state of the school under Jahangir, compared with its highly organized condition under Akbar. As we have seen, the latter ordered all the painters to be registered, numbered, and ranked with the other officials of the

state. Each artist's name was written by the court clerks on his work, and the whole movement systematized in the most efficient manner. But in Jahangir's time things were different. The artists' names were rarely attached to their pictures, and no list of these has been handed down to us. In his exuberance the monarch occasionally refers in his memoirs to some of the more distinguished exponents, and these are really our only guide to the leading artists of his court. It seems not unlikely that Jahangir's freedom in the treatment of the school, his apparent laxity in many ways, may have led to a less restrained and broader development of the art. The painters he specially mentions are Bishandās, Farrukh Beg, Abu'l-Hasan, and Mansur, while two others who also executed good pictures which are known to us were Manohar and Govardhan. Additional names may be identified with the art of his time, but this brief list comprises the principal group at the court. These artists were mainly occupied in painting pictures of everyday events which were to form the illustrations to Jahangir's memoirs. A number of copies of this autobiography were produced—we read of several being presented to different people—and no doubt most of them contained pictures. But there was one standard original, the illustrations of which were designed and executed by the leading artists, and this was kept in the imperial library of the Mughals. The pictures were not bound up with the text, but formed a separate folio or *muraqqa'*, and from these originals duplicates were made by less accomplished artists as they were required. The emperor's own copy has been partly destroyed and any pictures that survived have been dispersed, but sufficient are available, supplemented by copies, to reconstruct, pictorially, much of the life of this emperor and the events of his reign. A few of the original pictures, the majority of them unfortunately seriously abraded, have found their way into the Rampur State Library, and from these several of the less damaged have been selected, which will now be described.

Of all the pictures in this collection none is more typical of the period and of the school than that of the court function reproduced in the frontispiece. Jahangir, ever punctilious in observing the ancient ceremonies and festivals of his house, records in his memoirs that on a date about the middle of July 1614 'the assembly of *Gulāb-pāshī* (sprinkling of rose-water) took place; from former times this has been known as *āb-pāshī* (water sprinkling), and has become established from amongst customs of former days'.¹ In such words he refers to an annual festival held in Persia in memory

¹ Jahangir, vol. i, p. 265.

of rain which fell on the 13th day of 'Tir, and put an end to a severe famine still recollected by the people of that country. Govardhan, the painter, was commissioned to make a picture of the assembly, which is here reproduced. Only a few works by this artist are known, although those which have survived show that he was a man of ability; a painting in the *Bāburnāma* in the British Museum proves that he served under Akbar as well as Jahangir. The inscription on the picture is substantially identical with that written in the memoirs, and the date on the lower part denotes that it was the fifth day of *Amurdād*, which corresponds to the middle of July. In different parts of the picture attendants are seen scattering rose-water (*gul-āb*) from small bottles over the assembly, while at the back of the emperor are a number of minor officials, such as the fly-whisk holder, the gun-carrier, the court musician, and the sword-bearer. In front, paying their respects to his majesty, are the highest officials of the crown, one of whom is offering a *mā' ul-lahm*, or preparation of almonds, while behind him is a servant with a tray containing a further supply of comestibles. Below is a small band of musicians, some playing instruments, others singing and beating time by clapping their hands. At the bottom of the picture is the *bhisti*, or water-carrier, with his water-skin on his back, and testing the temperature of its contents by sprinkling a little on his finger. Immediately at his rear is a person dressed in white, intent on making notes of the proceedings in a book. This is a clerk (*munshi*), or court reporter, of whom Terry, Roe's chaplain, writes, 'when the King sits and speaks to any of his people publicly, there is not a word falls from him that is not written by some scriveners, or scribes, that stand around him'. Had the court artist, Govardhan, included himself in his picture—and there is no doubt that he was present at the ceremony—he would have occupied a similar position to that of the scribe, and would be recording his impressions with a brush, or making 'thumbnail' sketches, in much the same way. This miniature has much to interest us, as it is a truthful representation of the time, which was an intensely picturesque one. The costumes and the *mise-en-scène* are expressive of a brilliant, though somewhat barbaric, court, for the insistent musical accompaniment which was always present must have added a suggestion of wildness to the whole.

If one were asked what was the dominant note of this picture, the answer would most probably be its sense of vitality; it conveys at once a feeling of life and movement, and throbs with energy and emotion. While much of this is the result of the painter's own skill

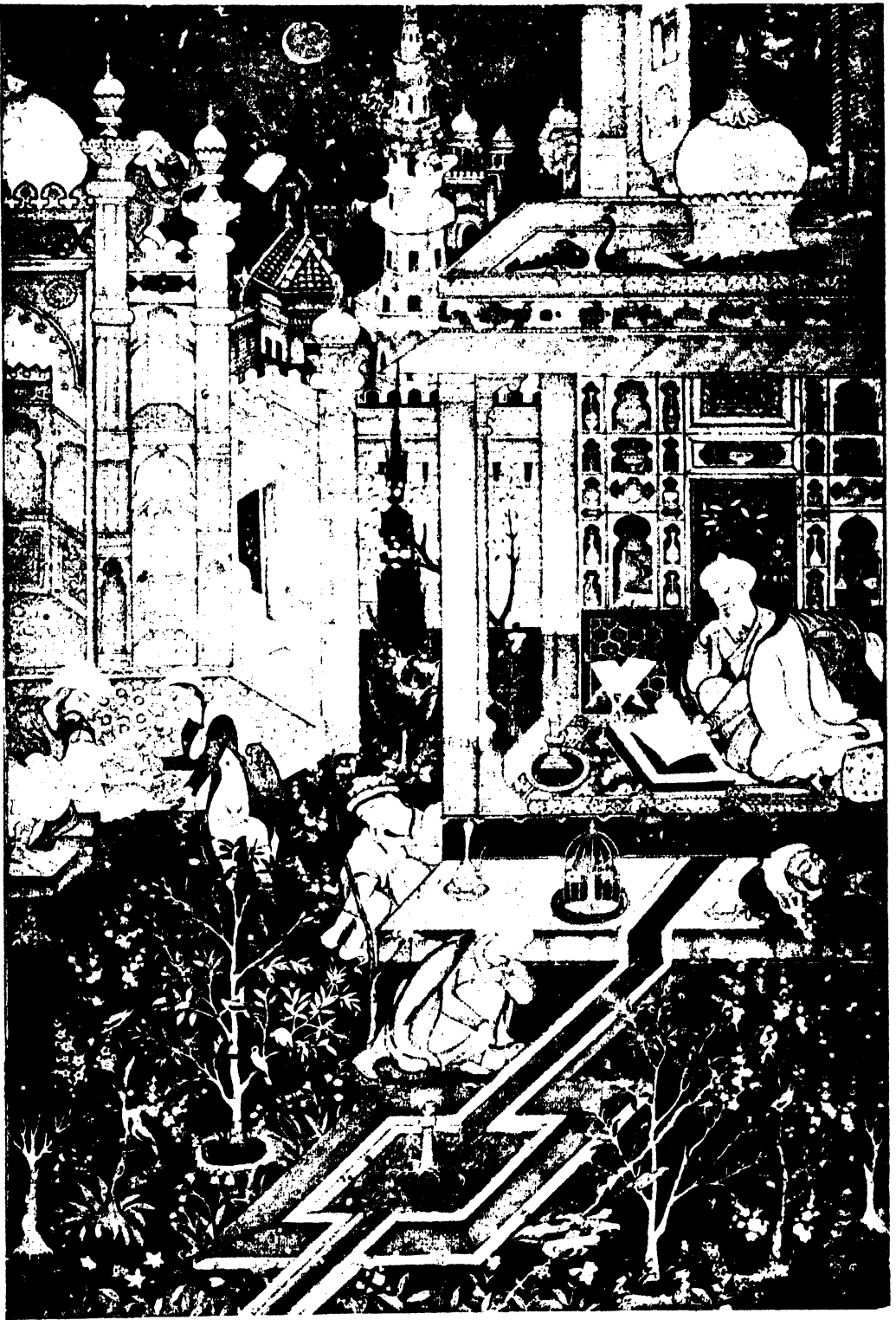
and vision, he was aided not a little in securing it by the particular manner in which he recorded what he saw. A brief analysis of his method of execution will explain. As a whole the composition resolves itself into one of sharply defined colour-contrasts; there is no blending or grading of forms, but it is a combination of flat areas of local colour coming directly into contact with one another. Further, these separate areas of colour are bounded by distinct contours, which, in much of the picture, are emphasized by an outline. Such, broadly, was the general plan on which most of the Mughal miniatures of the period were produced, and as a decorative colour-scheme it has great merit. The Mughal painters were by no means the originators of this method of effect. It is seen in most schools of pictorial art, especially in the beginning, as for instance all European painting up to the time of Titian. The early Flemings employed it, and many, though not all, of the primitive Italians, while of course it was a striking feature in the portraiture of Holbein, notably in his less mature period. The Mughal artist was striving after brilliancy and animation, his subject demanded both, and undoubtedly his method of obtaining what he required was the most ideal one. Such a means has been referred to as a primitive expedient, a convention, and not a natural form of representation; that to detach figures from their surroundings by means of a definite contour is not according to nature. This is no doubt true, but in the hands of the Mughal painter it certainly produced the desired result. The same effect is visible in the applied arts of stained glass and enamel, where the colours are kept separate by metal outlines, and the lustre and vigour of these is their main charm. It cannot be denied that the Mughal artist has caught the essential spirit of his subject, its riot of inspiring colour combined with much sensuousness, the hot oppressive atmosphere heavily laden with scent, the sound of the cymbals and the drums, the singing and clapping of hands.

While colour is the outstanding feature of this miniature, the outline that defines it calls for description. Much of the expression in this line is due to its calligraphic character, denoting at once its connexion with the long, firm, flowing sweep of the Arabic script brought to India by the Mughals. In this lies its main contrast with the painting of the Rājput school. The latter is also an art of outline, but not in any sense a calligraphic one, for the indigenous style of painting borrowed nothing from the handiwork of the writer; a glance at the square, almost crabbed, Hindi characters in use all over Northern India will explain this. In comparing Rājput outline drawing with that of the Mughals, it might be said that the fine





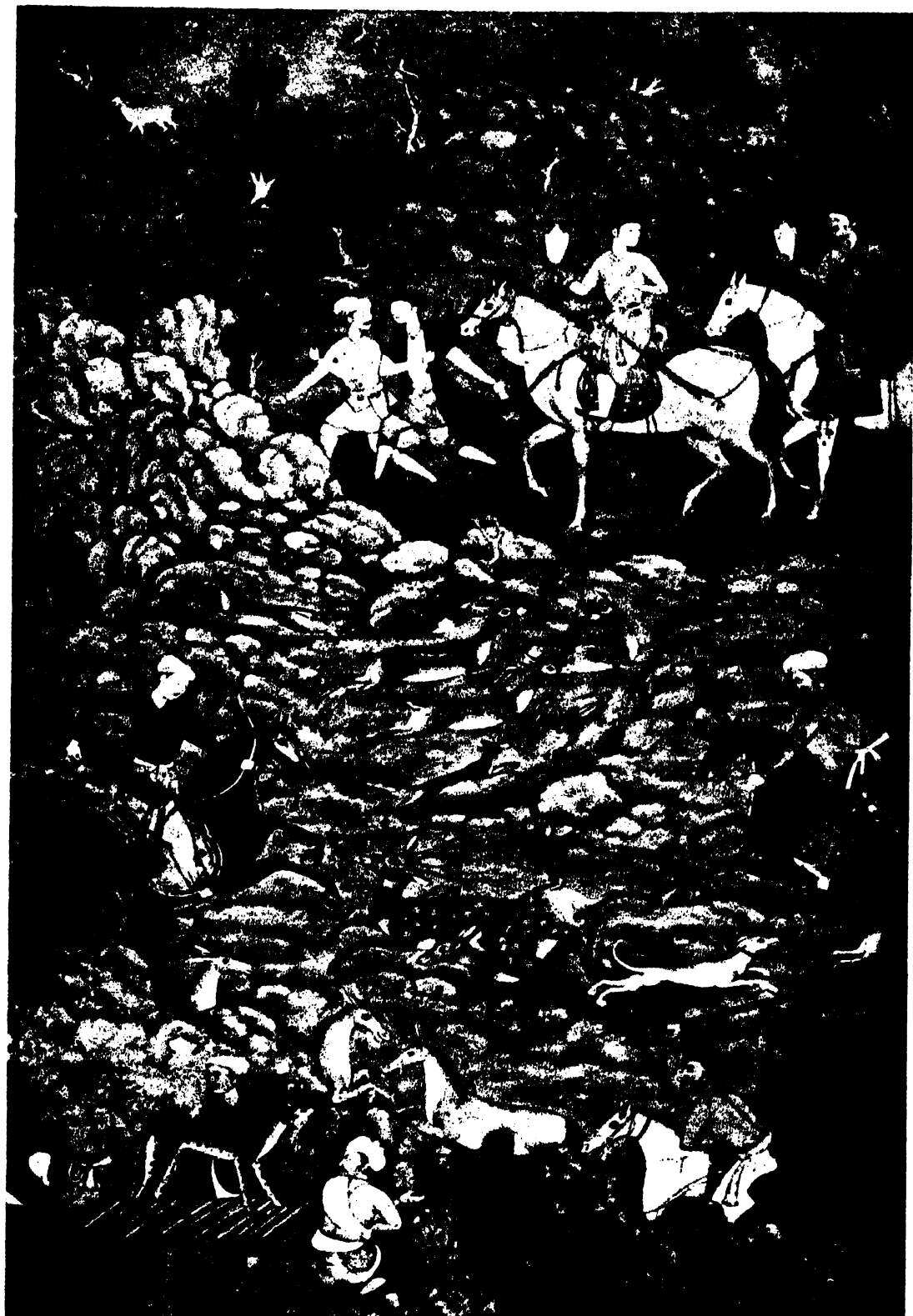
XXXIII. Illustration from the *Razmnama*; an episode in the Mahabharata, of Nala the King of Nishadha, and his wife Damayanti; designed by Muhammad Sharif and painted by Kesu the younger c. A.D. 1580
Jaipur State Library.



XXXIV. Illustration from the *Timurnama*; painted by Madhu the elder and Tulsi the elder
c. A.D. 1585; subject—the call to prayer at night; Oriental Public Library, Bankipur
size 154" × 104".



XXXV. Illustration from the *Babaristān*; painted by Basawan, c. A.D. 1590
 subject, Shaikh Abu'l 'Abbas Kassab and the dervish; Bodleian
 Library, Oxford (Elliott 254); size 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".



XXXVI. Illustration from the *Khamsab* (folio 82) ; painted by Khwaja Abdus Samad A.D. 1593 ; subject—Khusrau hunting ; collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins Malvern, England ; size $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$.



XXXVII. Illustration from the *Khamsab* (folio 82); painted by Farrukh Chela A.D. 1593
Subject— *Laila and Majnun*; collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins
Malvern, England; size 8½" × 5½".



XXXVIII. Illustration from the *Akbarnama*, from an original picture painted by Farrukh Beg the Kalmack at the end of the sixteenth century; subject: an interview between Mu'izz ul-Mulk and Bahadur Khan in A.D. 1567; (fol. 96) Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, Indian Section.



XXXIX. Illustration from the *Akbarnāma*, from an original picture painted by Basawan and Chatar, at the end of the sixteenth century ; subject—Akbar in an elephant fight on a boat bridge across the Jhelum ; (fol. 22) Victoria and Albert Museum South Kensington, Indian Section.



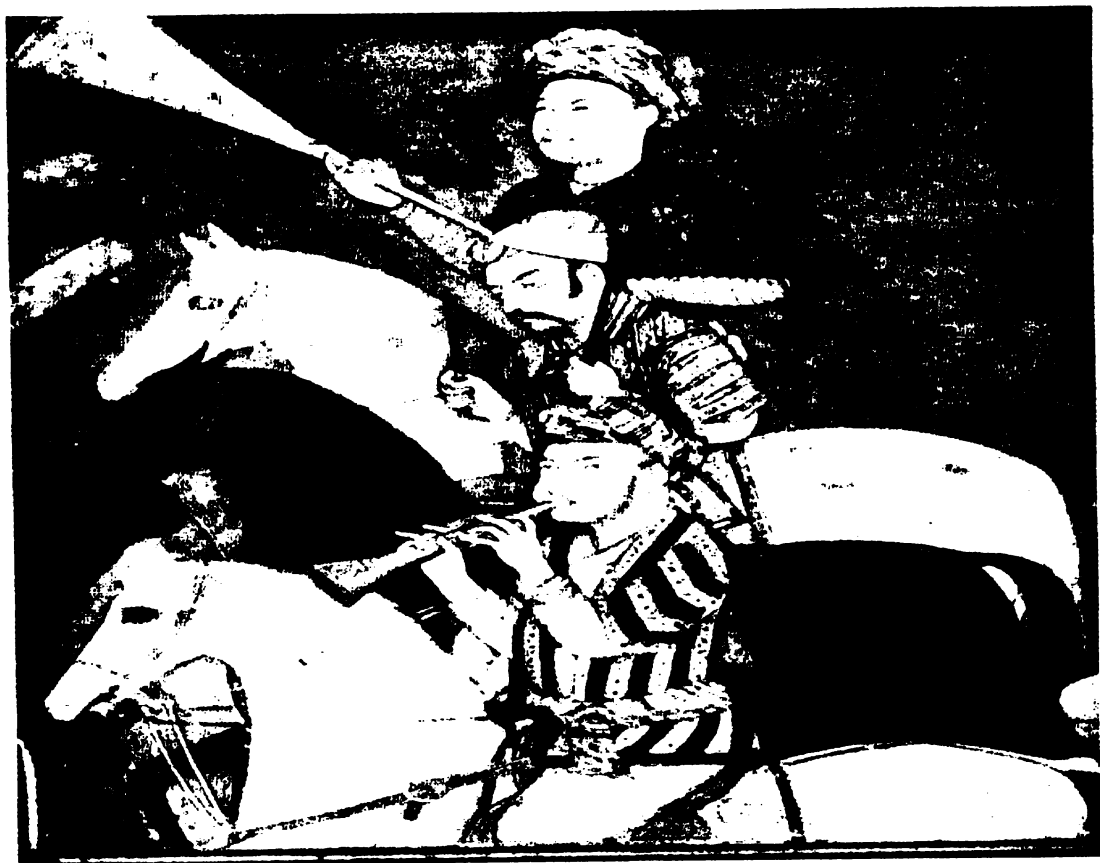
XL. Fig. 1. From the *Babaristan*; painted by Lal c. A.D. 1590
Bodleian Library, Oxford (Elliott 254); size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ".



XL. Fig. 2. From the *Khamsab* (folio 15); painted by Lal A.D. 1593
Collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins, Malvern, England.



XLI. Fig. 1. Priest with his *chela* (disciple); painted c. A.D. 1640
India Office Library, Johnson Collection, vol. vii, fol. 7.



XLI. Fig. 2. Portion of Plate XXXI, enlarged.



XLIII. Narrow escape of the Emperor Jahangir while shooting a lion (*Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 270)
Painted c. A.D. 1623; Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 188; size 10½" x 7½".



XLIV. Shooting deer at night; painted c. A.D. 1630; Bodleian Library, Oxford.



XLV. Fig. 1. Portion of a battle scene; painted c. A.D. 1650; Indian Museum, Calcutta; size $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ ".



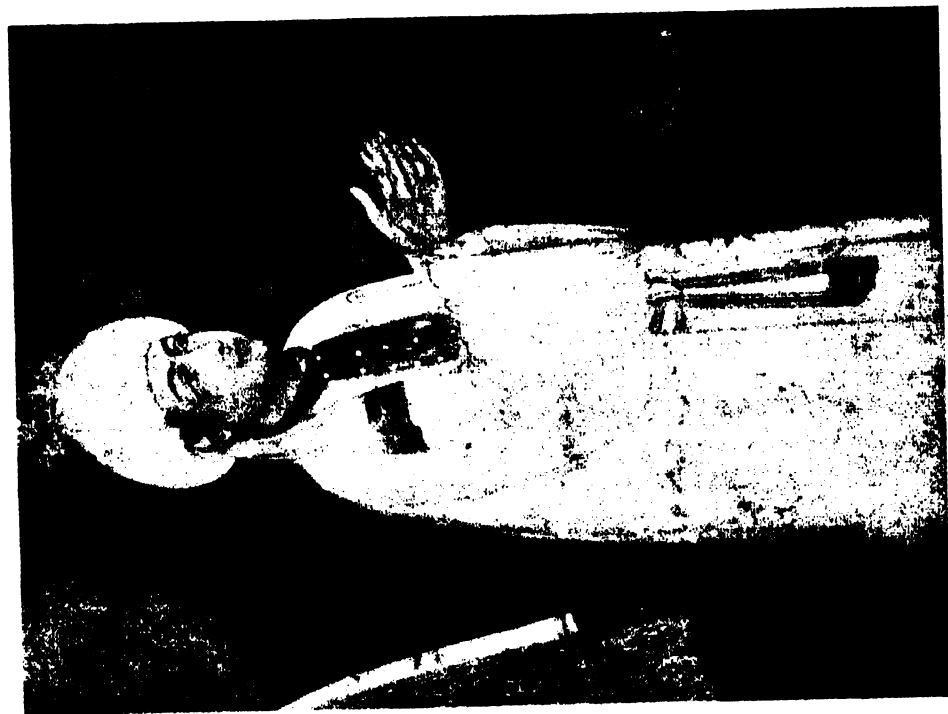
XLV. Fig. 2. Elephants; painted c. A.D. 1650; India Office Library Johnson Collection, vol. lxvii, fol. 18.



XLVI. Celebrations at the marriage of Prince Khurram, A.D. 1610
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 456; size 10" x 15".



XLVII. Portion of Plate XLVI ; chorus of women singers.



XLVIII. Fig. 1. Figure of a boy, from Plate XLVI.



XLVIII. Fig. 2. A man writing; painted c. A.D. 1630
Collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild.



XLIX. The Emperor Jahangir holding his court in a garden ; painted c. A.D. 1610
Rampur State Library.



I.. Death of Inayat Khan (The 'Dying Man') (*Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 43, 44)
Painted c. A.D. 1618 (?) ; Bodleian Library, Oxford
MS. Ouseley Add. 171 b, 4 v.



LII. *Faqirs resting under trees*; painted c. A.D. 1650
Collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris.



LIII. A Turkey cock (Jahangir's *Memoirs*, vol. i, pp. 215, 216); painted c. A.D. 1612
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 210; size $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$.



LIV. Pheasant ; painted probably by Mansur c. A.D. 1625
Collection of Baron Maurice Rothschild, Paris.



LV. Fig. 1. Ducks; painted c. A.D. 1630; India Office Library, album of Prince Dara Shikoh (R. & L. 944-1908, fol. 32)



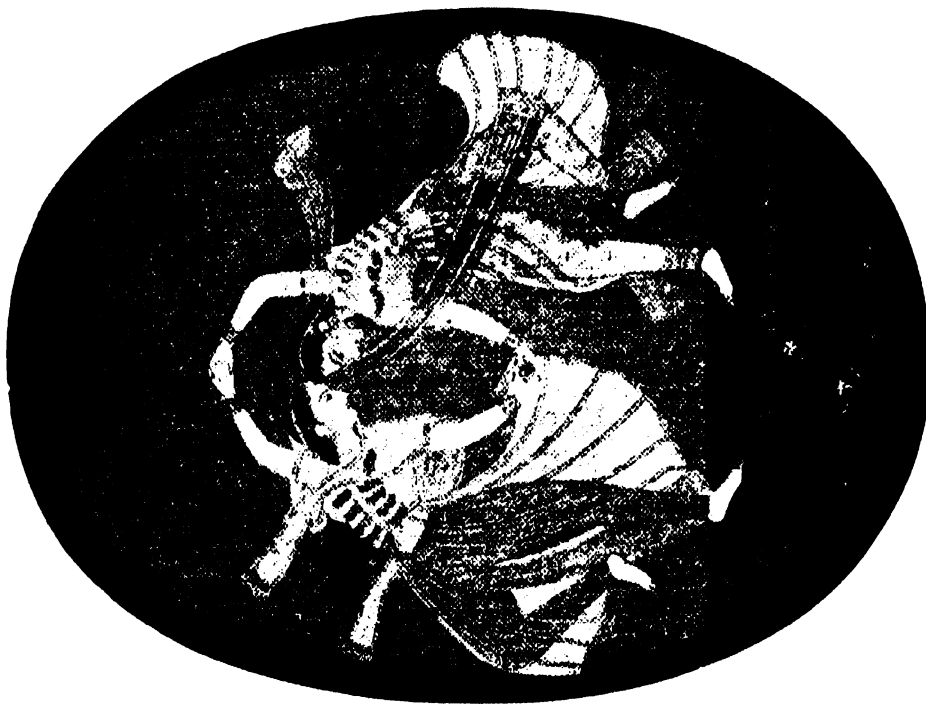
LV. Fig. 2. Night Heron; painted c. A.D. 1630; Album of Prince Dara Shikoh; India Office Library (R. & L. 944-1908, fol. 9 a).



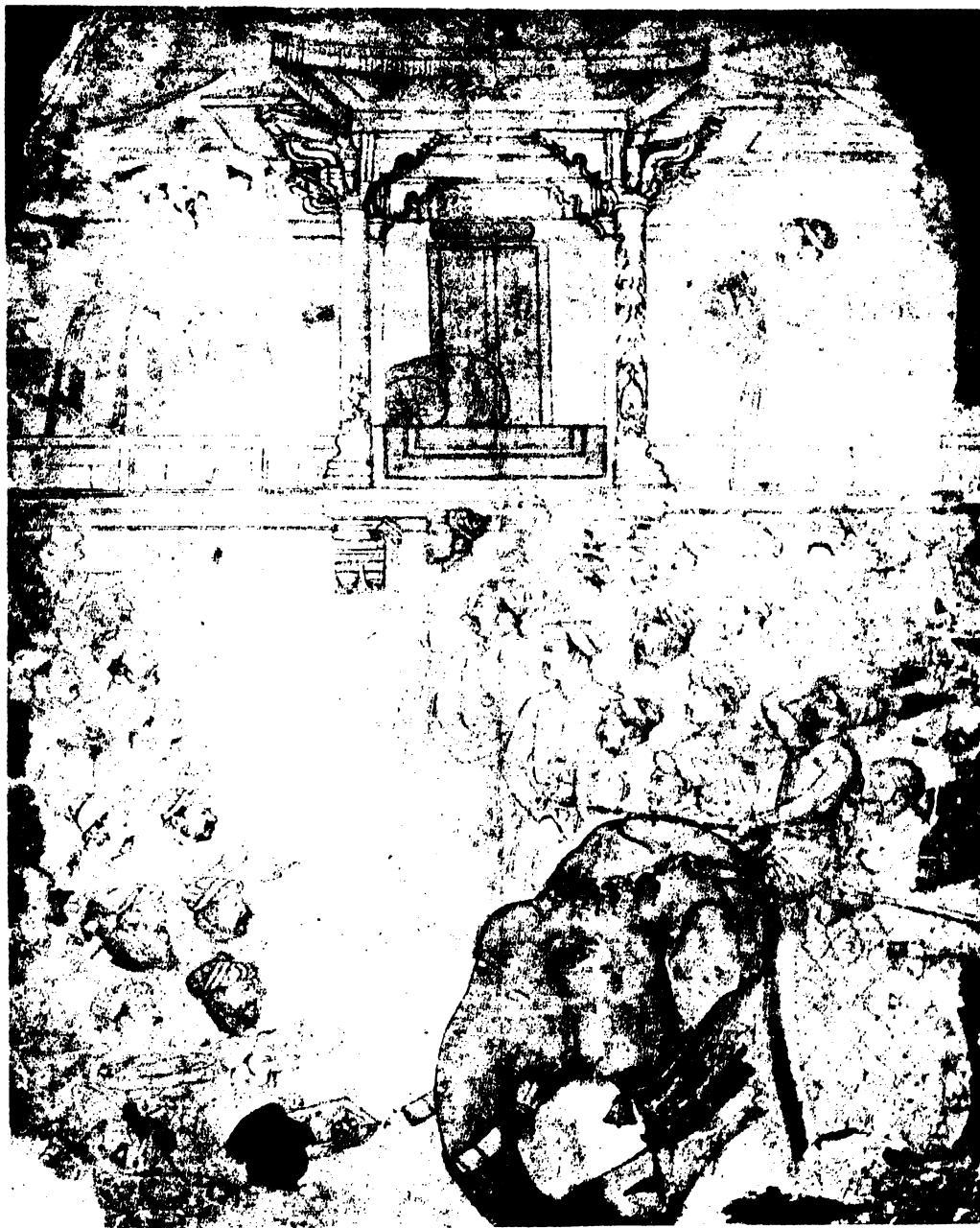
LVI. Elephants; painted by Ghulam, A.D. 1621; Indian Museum, Calcutta; No. 8 b; size 8½" x 6½"



LVII. Fig. 2. Portrait of a woman ; Indian Museum
Calcutta ; No. 294 ; size $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$.



LVII. Fig. 1. Two women dancing ; Indian Museum, Calcutta
No. 607 ; size 4" diameter.



LVIII. Unfinished sketch of a durbar scene, the Emperor Jahangir welcoming Shah Jahan
Painted c. A.D. 1625 ; India Office Library, Johnson Collection.



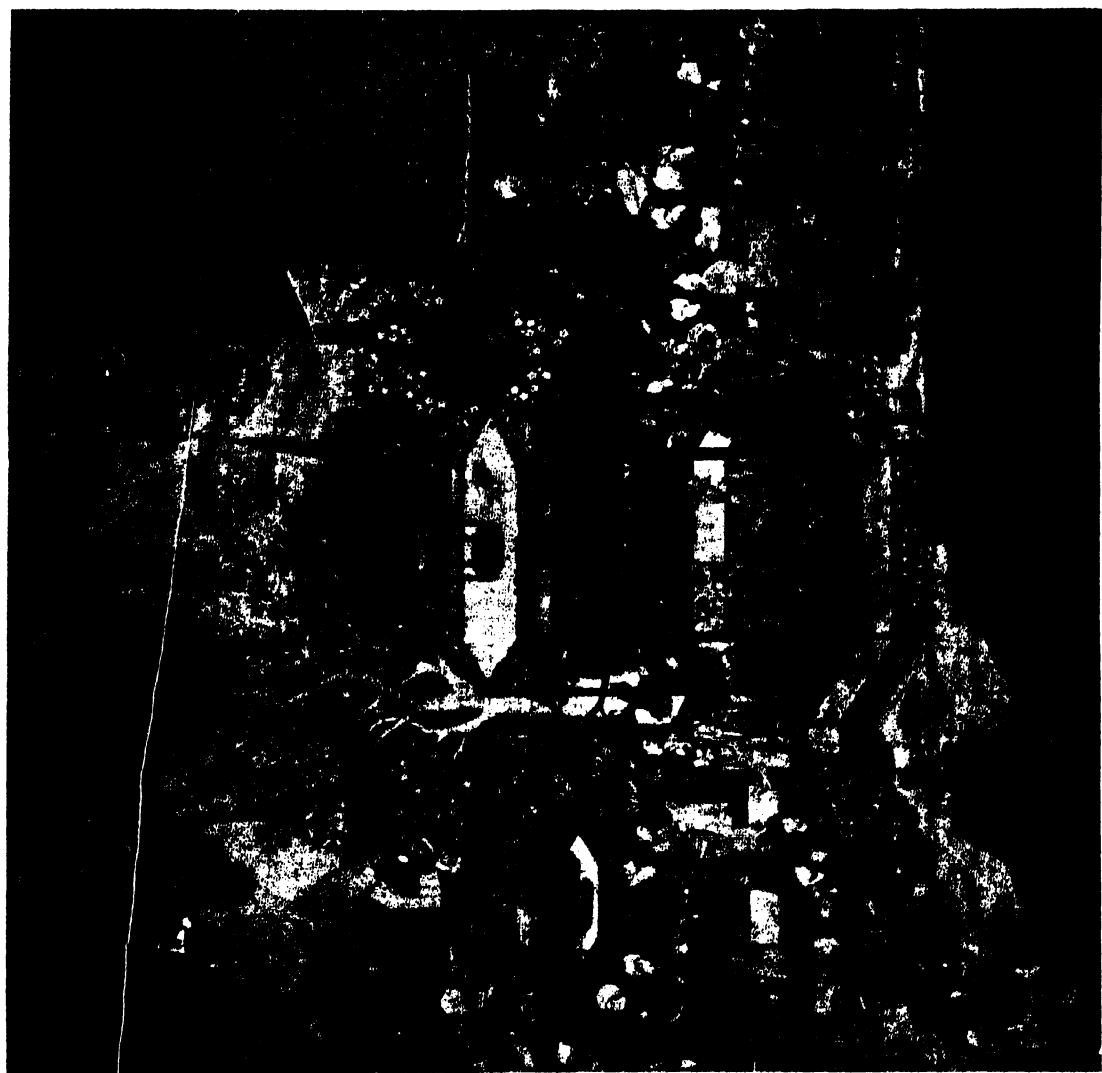
LIX. Fig. 1. Masons building a wall; Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 201; size 3" x 4½".



LIX. Fig. 2. Portrait group; collection of Mr. J. C. French, I.C.S.



X. Fig. 2. Portrait of the
Emperor Akbar, from Fig. 1.





LXI. Fig. 1. Portrait of Shaikh Sa'di, Persian writer and poet of the 13th century; painted c. A.D. 1600; enlarged; Indian Museum, Calcutta; No. 33; size 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".



LXI. Fig. 2. Portrait of Faizi (?), Akbar's poet laureate; painted c. A.D. 1600; enlarged; Indian Museum Calcutta; No. 520; size 7" \times 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".



LXII. Enlarged portion of Plate XXXI, showing Miyan Tansen, the famous singer.



I.XIII. Portrait of Prince Dara Shikoh on horseback; painted c. A.D. 1635
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 355; size $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$.



PLATE 1. FIG. 1. DEFORMED SKULL OF A. E. (MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, LONDON)

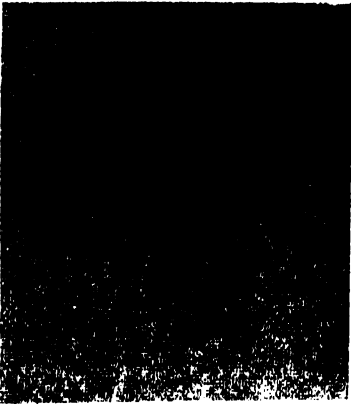


Fig. 1. Hakim Masih uz-zaman
by Mir Hashim (B.M. Add.
18801, No. 30).

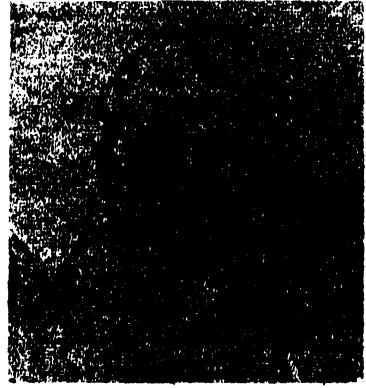


Fig. 2. Akbar (?); Johnson Collection
India Office Library
vol. lvii, folio 1.



Fig. 3. A prince (Aurangzeb ?)
B.M. Add. 18801, folio 34.

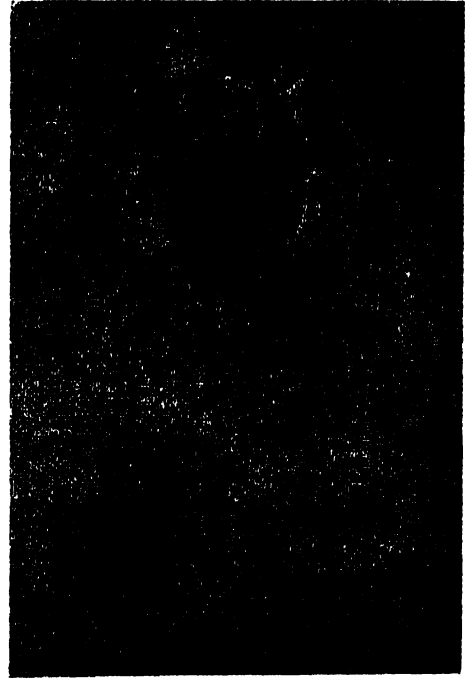
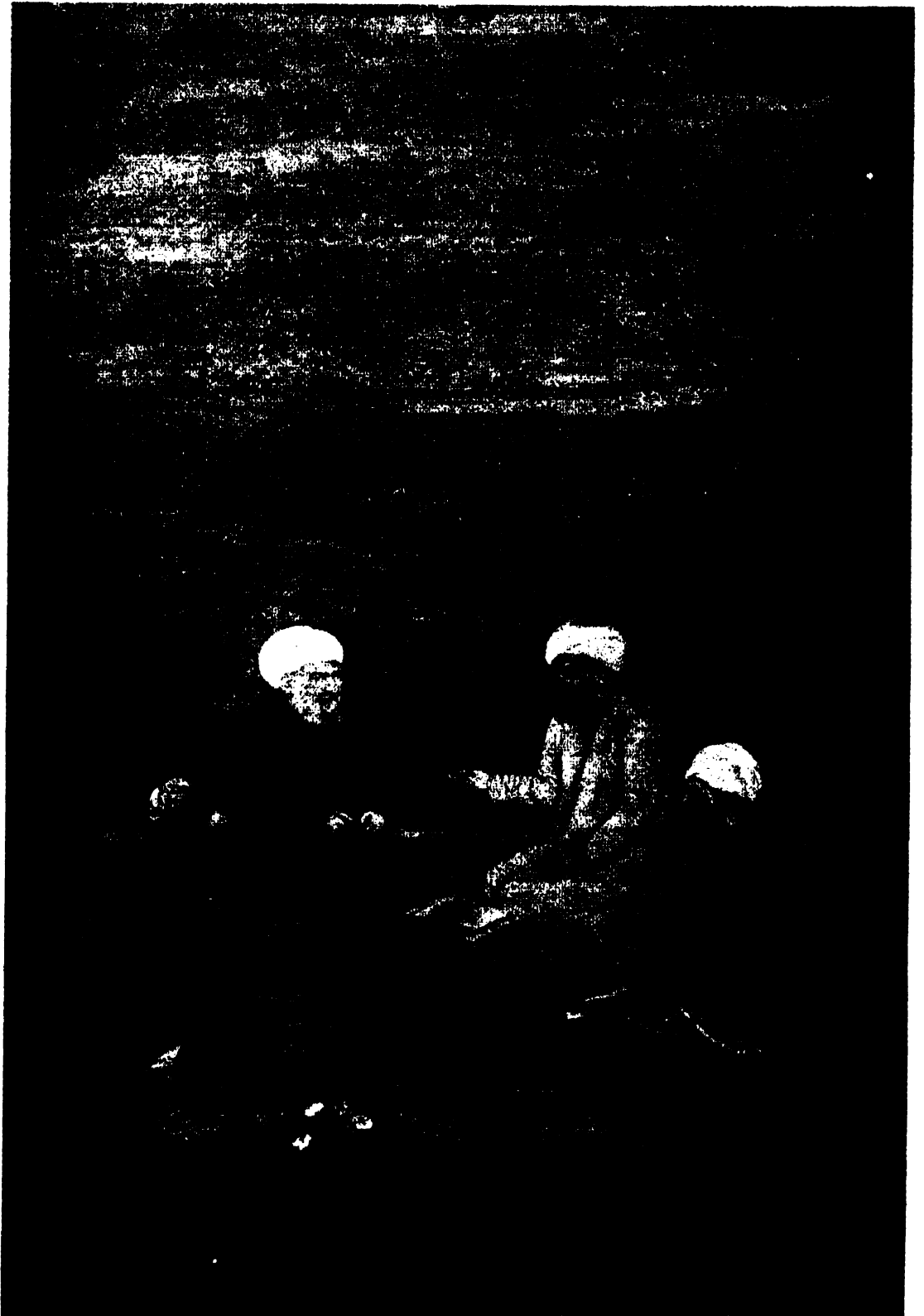


Fig. 4. Jahangir (?); from *Indian Drawings*
(I) by Coomaraswamy, Plate V.



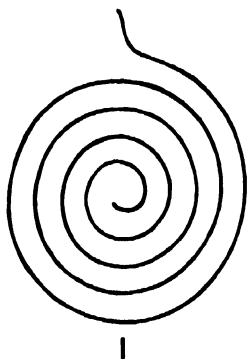
LXVI. Prince conversing with a priest ; painted *c.* A.D. 1660
Collection of M. Demotte, Paris.



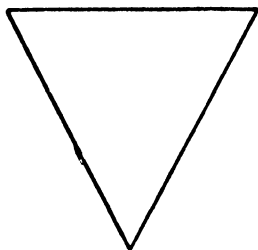
LXVII. Priests discussing the Qur'an; painted c. A.D. 1660
Collection of M. Demotte, Paris.



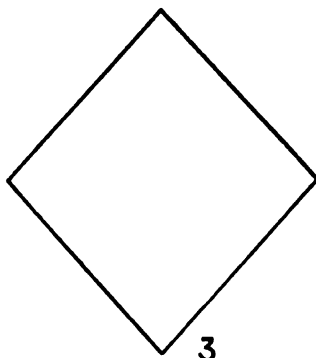
LXVIII. Picture in the Patna *qalam* ; subject unknown ; painted c. A.D. 1800
Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 218.



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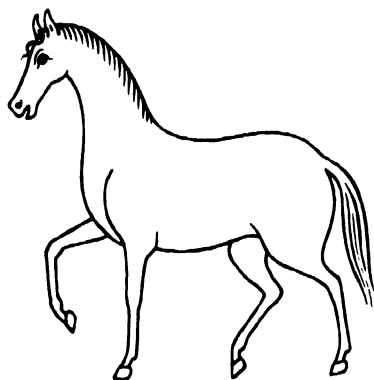
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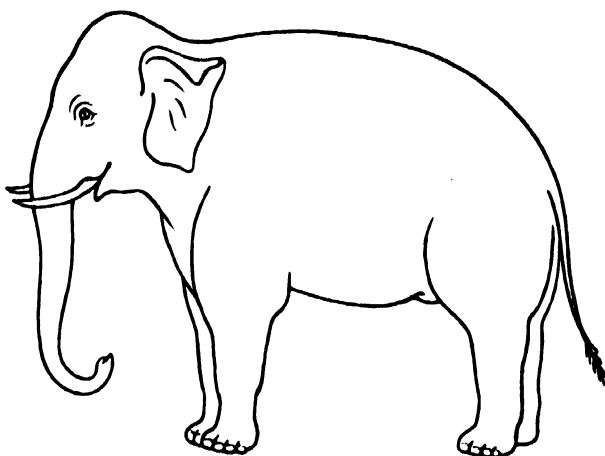
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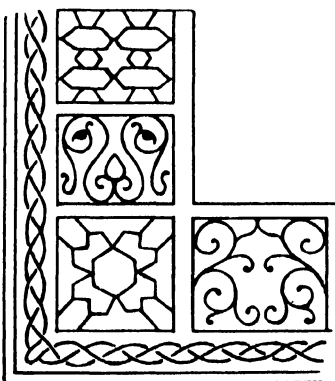
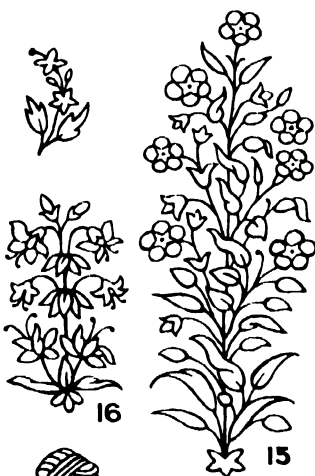
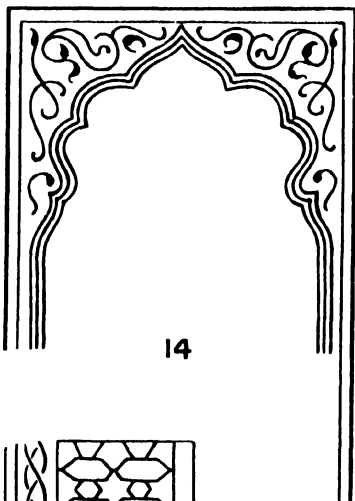
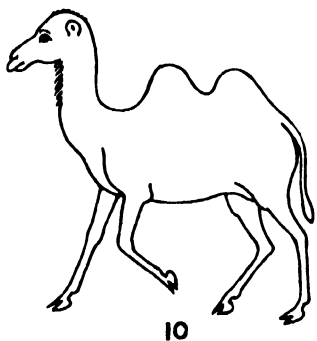
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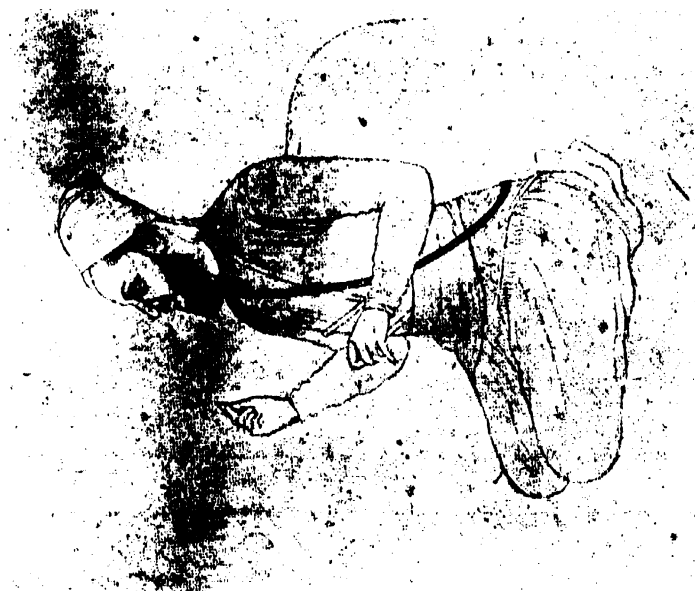


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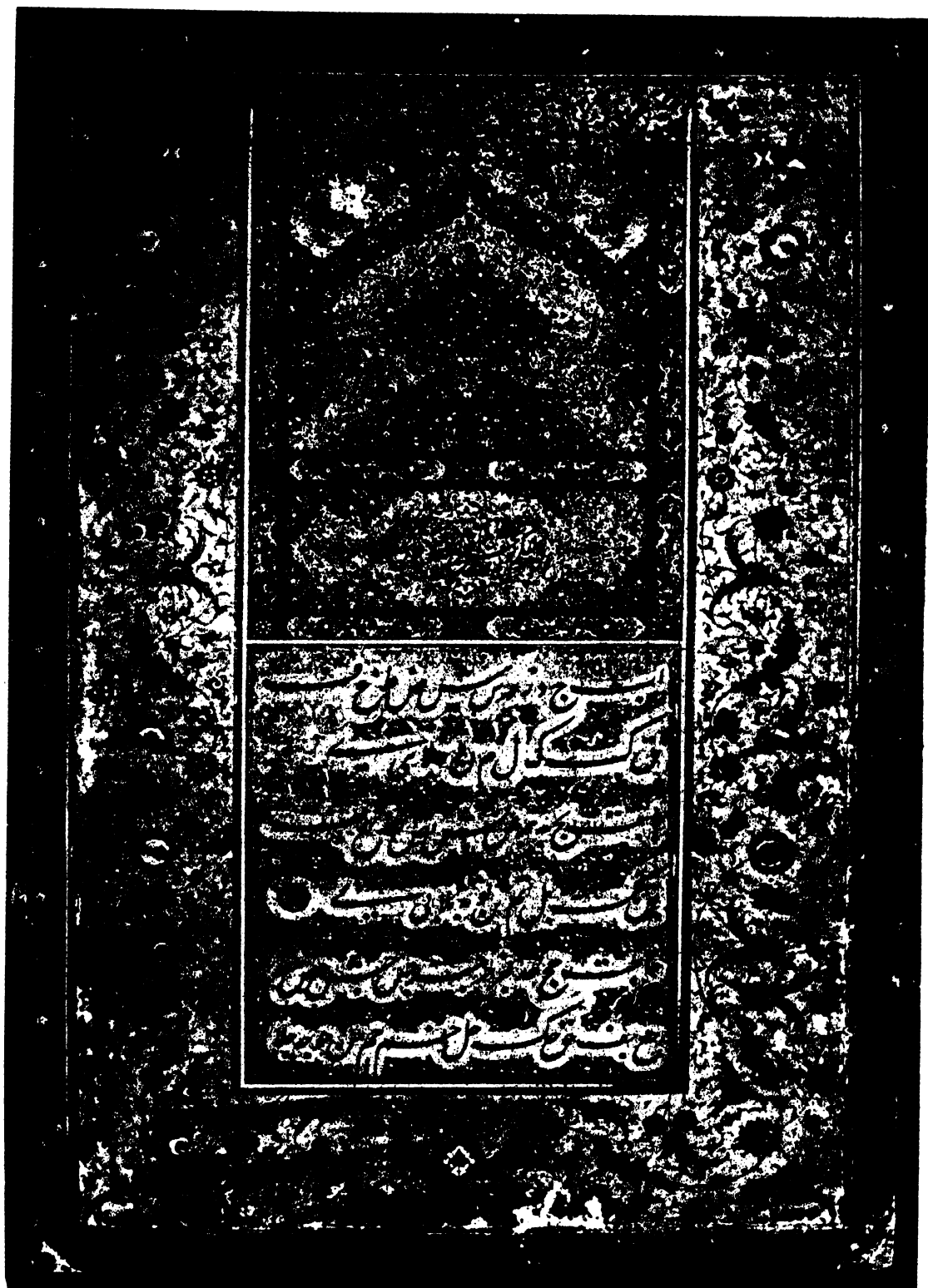




LXXI. Fig. 1. Tracing on deer-skin of a portrait of the Amir Timur showing marks of the 'colour guides'.



LXXI. Fig. 2. Sketch portrait showing the black outline correcting the preliminary red outline.



LXXII. Example of a *qita'* or elegant writing and illuminating; the writing by Mir Ali of Herat who died in A.D. 1558-9; Indian Museum, Calcutta; size 15" x 8½".



LI. Night Scene; priests in council; painted *cir.* A.D. 1640.

sensitive outline of the former is that of Blake, while the modulated contour of the latter is that of Holbein. It is not difficult to see whence the Mughal art obtained this calligraphic quality. As we have already stated, in China, Persia, and Mughal India the skilled writer was considered superior to the painter. Both craftsmen in China worked with the brush. But Persia, which took its outline from China, wrote with the reed-pen, and the difference in the implement employed explains the difference in the character of each country's line. When this line travelled to India after a time it shed still more of its calligraphic expression. It lost much of it in the hands of the Indian craftsmen to whom the art of calligraphy had little meaning. While, therefore, the painting of the Mughal school shows clear traces of this affinity with the script that accompanied it, when the art had reached its maturity the calligraphic outline became less emphatic and ceased to be an outstanding feature as in the painting of Persia and the Far East.

From this picture of an interior scene of Jahangir's durbar we may turn to an opposite effect of an exterior, shown on Plate XXXI, a miniature bearing a name which may be read as Manohar. The work of this artist may be studied in several of the books illustrated during Akbar's reign, so that he was a man of some repute when Jahangir came to the throne. The picture, evidently one of a series representing the celebrations that took place at the coronation of the last-named emperor, portrays a procession in which the state elephants bearing the royal standard play a leading part. Roe, who saw many such pageants, describes these particular animals as 'being Lord Elephants, (who) had their chaynes, belles, and furniture of Gould and siluer, attended with many gilt banners and flagges . . . the first having all the plates on his head and breast sett with rubyes and Emeraldes, beeing a beast of a woonderfull stature and beauty. They all bowed downe befor the king, making reuerence very handsomely.' The two elephants here depicted marching in the place of honour in the procession are the *nishān kā hathī*, or standard bearers, one carrying Jahangir's personal ensign of the lion and the sun, derived from a Persian source, the other an imperial banner emblazoned with a phoenix and a dragon of Far Eastern design. The latter was obviously obtained direct from China, as it contains the *Ssu ling* or 'Four Divine Animals'; on the reverse of it would be the other two creatures of the series, the tiger and the unicorn. On the backs of the elephants are two richly diapered coverings which may also have been produced by Chinese looms, all of which shows that the Mughals had no little admiration for the arts of the Far East, and

used examples of them in their regalia. Flanking the elephants are two groups of mounted musicians energetically blowing on their trumpets, *turhī* and *naṣrī*, or beating the drums, *naqāra*. In front of these is a line of *jhandī-bardārs* bearing gaily coloured pennons or *shān-o-shaukat*, and with them are several *bandūqchīs* who are carrying guns wrapped in brocaded coverings. Behind the elephants are more musicians, one group of men, the other of women, all playing instruments or vigorously singing and beating time. In the upper group, called *kalāvat* or *gavayyā*, which is a mixed assembly of Hindus and Muhammadans, two men will be observed with stringed instruments like large mandolins, known as *sarūd*. The elder of these two performers has been identified as Tansen, the most skilled musician at the Mughal court, and one whose fame as a singer lives to this day. The younger performer below is Shauqi, who afterwards took the place of Tansen, and of whom Jahangir writes that he is 'the wonder of the age' and sings 'in a manner that clears the rust from all hearts'. Some of the other members of the band are playing on the *kamāncha*, a stringed instrument, with a small bow, while the remainder are keeping time by means of the *tālī*, or clapping of hands. In front of the younger *sarūd*-player is a man with folded arms and a paper in his hand. He is the court poet, probably Manohar Sekhawāt Kachhwaha, son of Raja Lonkaran, a Hindu who had studied Persian and wrote verses in this language. During a halt in the proceedings he will recite a poem in praise of the emperor, that he has composed for the occasion. The women musicians, called *bāndī*, are also proclaiming the magnificence of the monarch in song accompanied with the drum, *dholak*, and tambourine, *duff*. With them will be noticed two male drummers, who are their *ustāds* or instructors. The direction in which the procession is moving is at first sight not clear, as some portions of it are facing one way and others another. It is, however, progressing across the picture from right to left, but the musicians are walking slowly backwards, so that the monarch, before whom they are passing, may get the full benefit of their performance. Its order and pace are regulated by the *chhari-bardar*, or master of the ceremonies, who will be seen at the top of the picture carrying out his duty in an active manner. At his side is a small but very interesting group of buffoons, who supply the comic element in the proceedings, performing extravagant dances and burlesquing everybody from the highest officials downwards. They are known as *bandahs*, and are generally Muhammadans, while their mimicry is called *swāṅg*. Right at the back of these is the usual crowd of menial servants, cautiously approaching to view the *tamāshā*,

at first from a reasonable distance, but in their eagerness they will soon invade the processional route, to be driven back by the stick of the *chhari-bardār*.

The attractions of this picture lie not in the general effect, which is somewhat confusing, but in the treatment of some of the groups, and particularly in the portraits of one or two of the individuals. As in the previous miniature, it is the spirit of vitality which is its main charm, and not a little of this is brought about by the natural and spontaneous action of the figures. What could be more expressive of energy than the mounted trumpeter with the red turban at the top of the picture, putting his whole soul into his performance, as if he felt that the eyes of the emperor were specially directed on him. Compare his vigorous pose with the stately step of the sword and banner bearers, or the scarcely suppressed excitement among the musicians in their effort to keep time among themselves and with the rest of the procession. But for an example of Mughal figure-painting at its best the trumpeter riding on the horse immediately below the elephant may be selected. A slightly enlarged reproduction of this figure is illustrated on Plate XLI, Fig. 2, and will show how the Indian painter could rise almost to the heights attained by Holbein in some of his character studies. The drawing, modelling, and expression of the face are exceptionally well rendered, while the colouring is equally meritorious. In the other two mounted musicians the artist has not been quite so successful in his portraiture, but that he has caught the sense of action, as shown for instance in the feeling of movement in the fingers of the instrumentalists, cannot be denied. In many other portions of this picture the same conscientious attention to detail is displayed, although as a whole the composition is not exactly arresting. Both groups of figures walking out of, or looking out of, each side of the picture may account for some of this, but it is most probably explained by the artist having quite ingenuously put on his paper the ceremony just as he saw it. Nevertheless, in the more formal subjects of his selection the Mughal artist had an eye to composition, which may be noticed in his interior effects, as for instance in his arrangement of court scenes. He fully realized the value of an architectural feature as the basis of his design, and made use of it in the following manner. Beginning with the emperor on his throne more or less in the centre, he placed a series of buildings in retreating planes in the background, which he balanced with a corresponding succession of terraces and platforms in the foreground. The right-angled lines predominating in such an arrangement harmonized with the right angles of his picture as a whole, and, while

such a method is well known among designers as a simple device, it was, in the hands of the Mughal painter, also the most pleasing. After the artist had introduced into his picture the main constructional lines indicated above, it was not difficult to group about these the figures which formed the living element in the subject. One type of architectural setting, frequently observed in the earlier pictures, shows a palace in which both the exterior and interior are visible at the same time, a kind of isometric projection, the spectator being elevated so that he looks over the retaining wall into the courtyard with the emperor seated in a pavilion in the centre. Outside this wall are the servants and attendants, while always in the foreground in one corner is a doorway with a bearded doorkeeper on guard. An example of this conventional scheme may be studied on Plate XI; it is, however, a traditional composition, inherited from the Persian master Bihzad, and employed by him in several of his pictures. In these architectural compositions, exception may be taken to their excessive formality, but in all art the Mughal specially admired symmetry even of the most severe order; in his buildings, in his gardens, and, as we see, in his pictures, every element was balanced by another element which constituted its *jawāb*, or 'answer', and to bring about this balance was the artist's principal aim.

In those pictures where the use of the architectural setting was denied him, the Mughal painter often relied on an elliptical arrangement, the principal figure or object being more or less central, while the secondary elements are grouped around following the lines of an oval. An example of this may be seen in the frontispiece, where the emperor is in the middle while his officials and attendants form an irregular ovoid shape around him; such a scheme is particularly noticeable in the picture of the lion hunt shown on Plate XLII, which is a record of an actual experience, and is fully described by Jahangir in his memoirs. All translations of this work, however, erroneously state that the animal of this adventure was a tiger, while the picture proves conclusively that it was a lion. Lions are now extinct in India, except for a few maneless specimens preserved in Kathiawar, but in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries they were so numerous as to be a source of great danger to all those travelling in Hindustan. It is related that Jahangir and his courtiers used to ride these beasts down, and kill them 'with their bows and carbines and launces'.¹ In all the *shikār* scenes of the Mughals the lion is represented as the animal of their choice, pictures of tigers being extremely rare. In referring to the incident of this miniature Jahangir writes :

¹ Terry, pp. 182, 184, 403.

on the 10th of the month of Dai, in the neighbourhood of the pargana of Rahimabad (in the Bari Doab) the huntsmen brought in news of a lion. I ordered Iradat Khan and Firdai Khan to take with them some of the guards and surround the wood, and mounting an elephant I followed them and went towards the hunt. From the number of trees and thickness of the jungle it could not well be seen. Driving the elephant forward, the lion's flank came into view, and with one wound from my gun he fell and gave up his life. Of all the lions I have shot from the time I was a prince until now I never saw a lion like this for size and majesty and the symmetry of its limbs. I ordered the artists to take its portrait according to its real form and body.¹

It is evident, however, that the artists not only made a study of the dead animal, but also a painting of the incident described above, just at the critical moment when the lion rolled over with the emperor's bullet in its brain. As will be seen from the illustration, it is an exceedingly graphic production, and the court painter responsible for it seems to have entered fully into the spirit of the scene. In the distance is the rocky ground overgrown with the close shrub which concealed the lion until it came out to its death. Standing near and evincing every sign of excitement and gratification at the result of the shot are the *shikāris*, Iradat and Firdai, engaged in explaining to their royal master how and where the fatal shot took effect. All the persons in this picture are clearly portraits, even to the beaters with their staves and sticks in the foreground, while the elephants are undoubtedly the actual animals from the royal stables who took part in the event. Jahangir, whose elation at his own skill is apparent, is seen turning towards his suite, who have followed him on horseback, and are voicing their congratulations with no little liveliness. At his side, on an elephant that is being goaded reluctantly to face the dying animal, is the head *shikārī*, who is complimenting his master in the usual fashion by means of an emphatic *salaam*. But one of the best drawn features of the picture is the lion, the death throes as the beast rolls over being very realistically rendered—it seems as if the artist had actually seen this taking place and put it down exactly as it appeared to him. The bullet has struck the animal in the head, as one of the *shikāris* on foot excitedly explains, and in its agony it claws the wound before it expires. In its general composition the picture is uncommon, as there is considerable extent of open space in the centre, but the grouping of the figures follows the general line of an oval, with the principal actors, the emperor and the lion, inclining towards the centre.

Another hunting scene, but of a much more thrilling nature, is

¹ Jahangir, vol. ii, p. 284.

illustrated on Plate XLIII. Jahangir refers to it as an adventure which happened to him when he was a prince, and it appears to have left a vivid impression on his mind.¹ Several pictures, varying in detail and all relating to the same incident, have survived, but this is one of the most realistic. The expression on the face of the *mahout* as he crouches on the neck of the elephant to escape the lion's claws, and the incontinent manner in which the gun-bearer is leaving the howdah at the back, have been most cleverly portrayed. Plate XLIV depicts a picture of a very different kind, although it is of the chase. It has no specific title, but shows in the dead of night three hunters dressed in robes of greens and browns, and their heads covered with leaves, approaching the feeding grounds of the deer. As they cautiously draw near the game one of them tinkles a little bell and reflects a strong light from a curiously shaped lantern into their faces. The deer, fascinated or held spellbound by the unusual display, are seen falling an easy prey to the arrow of the hunter. It is a very beautiful conception in a scheme of low-toned colours with one strong note, the bright golden light from the lamp in the centre. Around is darkness, but relieved by various incidents carefully thought out and happily introduced. In the foreground two buffaloes are aroused by the noise, while near them are water birds roosting on a little pool covered with water-lilies; a *sādhū* dozing in front of his grass hut with his dog occupies the middle distance, and out of the gloom peers a straggling village silently sleeping at the foot of the hills. In the majority of these pictures of outdoor subjects the treatment of the landscape is instructive. Jahangir had a fondness for beautiful views, about which he often discourses in poetical language. Inspired by his example the court painters rose to considerable heights in their efforts to depict, truthfully and artistically, landscape effects in the backgrounds of their pictures. One of the best examples may be studied in a picture in the Rampur collection (Plate XIX), unfortunately almost too damaged for effective reproduction. The incident it depicts is fully described in the memoirs²—a fight between a snake and a huge spider (probably a land crab), which the emperor saw while on his way from Kabul in 1607. In its drawing and modelling the rocky scenery in the background of this miniature is very fine, the colouring also is exquisitely delicate, while the sense of aerial perspective is immediately felt in the planes of atmospheric blues and greys of the distance. Another attempt at landscape, but in a more romantic mood, may be studied on Plate XX, the details of the upper part of which are

¹ Jahangir, vol. ii, p. 270.

² Jahangir, vol. i, p. 117.

reminiscent of some of the illuminations in the early fifteenth-century manuscripts of the English school. The picture records the entry of Jahangir into the city of Ajmir in 1613, and his visit to the shrine and tomb of Khwaja Mu'in ud-din Chishti, the patron saint of Akbar and his descendants. Jahangir relates how he walked the road to the 'venerated mausoleum' on foot, all along 'giving money to faqirs and the necessitous'. He also bestowed favours on those that were 'brought before me, that they might be made happy with numerous gifts according to their real circumstances'.¹ The artist has included all these incidents: Jahangir and his young son are seen reverently approaching the tomb, while, below, alms to the poor and presents to the attendants are being distributed.

It may be contended that, although the Mughal painter showed considerable feeling for aerial perspective, his knowledge of this science in its linear aspect leaves something to be desired. The picture last described is an illustration of the difficulties he encountered in representing architecture, and buildings generally, according to his own indigenous interpretation of receding lines and planes. A study of the art of the East demonstrates that the oriental had his own system of perspective, just as he had his own ideas on chiaroscuro. In both these aspects of his work, however, the oriental artist was in complete accord with his oriental spectator; they understood one another thoroughly, because they were in communication with one another by means of the same pictorial language. Perspective and chiaroscuro corresponded to the grammar of that language, the artist told his story in his own tongue, and it was fully comprehended by those of his own kind to whom it was addressed. To represent 'on the flat' a subject of many complicated planes any expedient may be adopted by the artist so long as it is intelligible to the spectator, and accepted by him in the same spirit. In the West the artist obtains his perspective by scientific methods and his chiaroscuro by high lights and cast shadows. The oriental preferred to translate perspective effects by the artistic method rather than the scientific, and avoided the difficulty of representing shadows by leaving them out altogether. As long as the result is a work of art and appreciated as such by those to whom it appeals, any form of convention may be employed by the painter in his endeavour to give suitable expression to his artistic feelings. That the Mughal artist could on occasion make use of perspective in a very able manner is proved by Plate XLV, Fig. 1, which shows a portion of a miniature dating from later than Jahangir's reign, where a group of cavalry is seen descending a steep

¹ Jahangir, vol. i, p. 253.

incline. Any artist who could willingly undertake such a difficult subject is worthy of our admiration, and that he has succeeded in his task there is no shadow of doubt. The fidgety sideways motion of the two leading horses as they find themselves on the edge of the slope, and the caution expressed in the backs of the two in the rear, not to mention the sense of foreshortening in the drawing of both horses and riders, are unusually well rendered.

Plate XLVI is a picture of the celebrations held at the Mughal court on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Khurram, who was ultimately to succeed Jahangir as the Emperor Shah Jahan. The miniature has been much damaged, but enough remains to show the scheme of rich colour that was employed by the artist when he was required to immortalize these splendid ceremonies. It depicts the usual elephant procession, similar in subject to that on Plate XXXI, but with even more musical accompaniment. In the upper part of the picture are five *amirs*, or nobles, richly dressed and standing respectfully with their maces or staffs of office on their shoulders. Below is a group of five male singers beating time with their hands, and behind them a chorus of women vocalists; the latter may be studied to better advantage in the enlarged reproduction on Plate XLVII. At the bottom on the right are several instrumentalists, preceded by a boy in white, beating time, who is reproduced alone to a larger scale on Plate XLVIII. Attendants bearing banners and the state elephants just arriving in the picture complete this part of the scene, but right at the top is an animated *motif*, the imperial band performing in what corresponds in Gothic architecture to the minstrels' gallery, which cannot be better described than in Bernier's own words:

Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called the *Nagar-Kanay*. In this place, which thence derives its name, are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and symbol, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night. To the ears of a *European* recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely; for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many symbol, which play together. One of the hautboys, called *karna*, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a foot. The symbol of brass or iron are some of them at least a fathom in diameter. You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the *Nagar-Kanay*. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable; but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure; in the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand, and melodious. This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody,

and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and slymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance. The *Nagar-Kanay* is placed in an elevated situation, and remote from the royal apartments, that the king may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music.

Aided by the French physician's contemporary account, and with this picture before us, it is not difficult to travel back over the three centuries which separate us from the Mughal time and feel ourselves present at one of these ceremonies with its strident musical accompaniment.

A miniature painting typical of the art during Jahangir's reign is shown on Plate XLIX, and depicts an incident, recorded in the memoirs, which took place in the Mandakar garden near Agra in the year 1609. Towards the bottom left corner of the picture a young man is standing with hands crossed and showing every sign of being overcome with shame. He is Kaukab, the son of Qamar Khan, and has been discovered consorting with very undesirable people—in the actual words of the emperor, 'blasphemous and impious' companions. As the culprit's father, and his grandfather Mir Abdul Latif, were Saifi Sayyids, and respected officials at the Mughal court, Kaukab's fall from grace was all the more reprehensible. Near him will be noticed two strange figures wearing caps surmounted with horns and long ears who are described as 'Abdul Latif, son of Naqib Khan and Sharif, his cousins, partners in that error'. Into the whole affair Jahangir, who is shown listening attentively with a very shocked expression, makes careful inquiries and finally passes judgement. It is clear from their countenances that all those present are much impressed by the proceedings, while one man immediately at the back of the emperor, with a look of tragedy on his face, is turning right away from the scene, as if the sight of it repelled him. This is the father of Kaukab, who, realizing his son is disgraced, turns his back on him and throws up his hands with a gesture of despair. The punishment for all three delinquents was imprisonment and a hundred lashes in the emperor's presence, but even this did not act as a permanent deterrent to the chief offender Kaukab. For eight years afterwards he is again in the same trouble for having 'put on a faqir's dress and gone into the wilds', so that he is evidently an incorrigible young man. However, on the second occasion Jahangir was more lenient and after a strict cross-examination he forgave him and allowed him to go his own way. Another remarkable picture executed to the order of Jahangir is the well-known one in the Bodleian Library commonly referred to as the 'Dying Man', and

shown on Plate L. Other copies of this subject are known, but the one at Oxford is the best. It depicts one Inayat Khan, an 'intimate attendant' of the emperor lying on his death-bed some time in the year 1618, a full account of which is given in the memoirs.¹ The manner in which Jahangir minutely describes every detail of the symptoms of this victim to the opium habit, finishing up with a verse of poetry and an order to the 'painters to take his portrait', shows the workings of a somewhat morbid mind. Certainly the artist entrusted with the gruesome commission did his work most thoroughly, the glazed staring eyeballs and the emaciated body plainly indicate that the drug had done its worst, and, as the royal writer concludes his homily on the man and his sad condition, 'next day he travelled the road of non-existence'.

But no subject, however unusual, was considered outside the range of the Mughal painter's art, as any survey of the miniatures of the time will speedily prove. At one period pictures of priests and religious mendicants were much in vogue, of which Plate LI is an excellent example. This painting has been much damaged, and also clumsily restored, but enough remains to make an interesting illustration. It is a night scene, and most of the light on the faces of those engaged in what appears to be a religious discussion is thrown from a candle in the foreground. A picture of a group of religious mendicants seated under trees by the wayside is shown on Plate LII; it is remarkable for its figure-drawings and the expression on the faces of some of these wandering *sādhūs*. Representations of the female form, or at least good examples of it, are not a pronounced feature of Mughal painting, for reasons which will be explained in the chapter on portraiture. Such reasons apply mainly, however, to the likenesses of the higher-class women; of the ordinary musicians and similar female performers at the court functions, there are several good drawings, as for instance the group on Plate XLVII. To show that the Mughal artist could on occasion rise to great heights in this little-touched field, the picture of the two girls dancing, on Plate LVII, Fig. 1, is introduced. They are performing a movement called the *cha-cha*, or see-saw, in the course of which they hold hands in the manner shown and circulate eight times. It is said to have been originally a Hindu dance but taken over by the Mughals; the artist will see in this picture something that reminds him of the rhythm of the female figures on an early Greek vase.

Animals and birds figure prominently in the painting of the Mughals, especially during the reign of Jahangir, as this emperor

¹ Jahangir, vol. ii, pp. 43, 44.

was personally interested in their appearance and habits. His memoirs contain constant references to his study of any unusual species, and in rare birds he took a keen delight. Of these he frequently ordered his artists to make paintings, and of some we have descriptions and pictures combined. There is the now well-known one of the turkey-cock on Plate LIII, an account of which occupies two pages of the memoirs, including the circumstances by which the emperor became possessed of this bird, hitherto unknown in India. And apart from the picture of the turkey itself we have also a miniature of the occasion in the year 1612 on which it was brought to the court by a faithful emissary of the name of Muqarrab Khan.¹ It is to be regretted that the picture of this durbar scene is too obliterated to be reproduced, for it makes an attractive composition. Muqarrab had brought a collection of curiosities from Goa, where he had been sent by Jahangir, exactly as Akbar had sent his own agent some years previously for a similar purpose. On his return the emperor received him at one of his midnight séances, as the moon is visible showing through a murky sky, and lighted candelabra are much in evidence. Jahangir is seated in his *jharokā* (window seat), and the emissary is shown making a low obeisance before him; below is a large table, or stand, on which it is possible to discern the 'rareties', consisting of the turkey-cock and hen and also a 'monkey of a strange and wonderful form'. The painter of this miniature has not been identified, but there is little doubt that the artist responsible for the companion picture, that of the turkey on Plate LIII, was the famous animal painter Mansur. It seems that Jahangir had a number of pictures of this kind prepared, representations of living creatures all similarly embellished and bound up in one volume, for there are fragments of this work still in existence. And he no doubt did the same with Mansur's studies of the flowers of Kashmir, to which reference has been already made. If the picture of the turkey-cock is an example of what these works of art were like, such volumes must have been sumptuous records, and important additions to the imperial library. It is difficult to imagine a more brilliant effect than the miniature here reproduced, particularly in the galaxy of colour in the border; as a whole this picture in its richness has probably rarely been excelled in any branch of oriental graphic art. We see in these borders, conventionalized and outlined with gold, the flowers of the tulip, poppy, strawberry, guelder rose, jonquil, lily, iris, and marguerite, all fairly common plants and shrubs but few of which are indigenous to

¹ Vol. i, pp. 215, 216.

Hindustan. Most of them are natives of Kashmir, while some are drawn from a still more distant source, the motherland of the Mughals, Farghana, watered by the Gir, with its 'beautiful gardens of Usk gay with violets, tulips, and roses in their seasons'.¹

Mansur, or one of his leading pupils, was no doubt the painter of the cheer pheasant (*Catreus wallichii*) on Plate LIV, and also of the peafowl on Plate XXIII, both of which are exceptionally well drawn. The ducks on Plate LV are probably a little later than his time, and so is the night-heron on the same plate, while the picture of the flowers on Plate XXII is not likely to be an original but a later copy of one of those done by this painter in Kashmir. Trees were not often depicted by themselves, but the plane tree, or *chinar* (*Platanus orientalis*), on Plate XV is a remarkable exception. Nothing is known of this work of art, which is probably one of the most charming examples of the school, with its sleek brown squirrels disporting themselves among the red-tipped leaves against a background of old gold. The animal drawings on Plate XXII are an interesting record of one of Jahangir's zoological experiments. He took the opportunity of breeding some kids from markhor goats and Barbary ewes, and of these he gives a careful description. The young animals appear to have afforded him considerable amusement, as he remarks 'of their liveliness and laughable ways and their manner of gambling and leaping, what can be written?' adding that 'it is notorious that painters cannot draw properly the motions of a kid.'¹ Granting that they may chance to draw the movements of an ordinary kid after a fashion, they certainly would have to acknowledge themselves at a loss how to draw the motions of these kids.'² In spite, however, of the emperor's doubts as to the ability of his artists to depict these animals in action, one of them at least made the attempt, as the sketches on Plate XXII demonstrate. Spirited movement, however, although successfully attained in some pictures, was not always a feature of the Mughal drawing, quiet repose being more often to the artist's liking, as shown in the painting of the elephants on Plate XLV, Fig. 2. But that the artist thoroughly understood the actions of the latter quadruped is certainly proved by Plate LVI, which depicts an elephant completely out of hand, having wrested the goad from the hands of his mahout, and prepared for further mischief. According to an inscription on the picture which states that it is the work of Ghulam Ali, the animal was eventually restrained by the bravery of the individual on his back, who is Prince Muhammad Murad.

¹ Babur.

² Vol. ii, pp. 88, 89.

VII

P O R T R A I T U R E

PORTRAITURE is a prominent feature in much of the art of Asia, but nowhere was it more highly developed than in the painting of the Mughals. The ruling dynasty specially encouraged it, and every collection of note contains frequent representations of the emperors and their courts. It was from their Mongol ancestors that they received this desire for pictures of themselves, as the Central Asian Khans early took a keen delight in portraiture. In their most primitive state these nomadic tribes of the Yenisei carved rude effigies in stone, numbers of which are to be seen in remote parts of Mongolia to the present day. When the same uncouth people, emerging from their desert environment, came into contact with more civilized races they soon seized on the local artists and ordered them to copy their features. It was the primitive mind of the Mongols (only recently attained to power) which caused them to show such pleasure in portraiture. They were the 'new rich' of their age, childishly delighted in everything that was uncommon, and, after the manner of all simple people, especially interested in representations of themselves as sovereign lords surrounded by evidences of their regal state. Plate I illustrates the manner in which they liked to be portrayed, but in other scenes, such as fighting and feasting, in drinking bouts, or killing and trampling on their enemies, they are often shown in the pictures of the Mongolian school. Previously they had only their own rough natural materials and indifferent talent to meet their needs, but as conquerors of cultured and artistic people like the Chinese it was not long before they brought into their service the famous painters of the Yuan dynasty. Of these, especially as portraitists, there are many wonderful accounts, but none is more graphic than that of Ibn Battuta, a Muhammadan traveller who found himself in the year 1347 at the Mongol court in China. In the course of a eulogy on the artistic nature of the Chinese people generally, he goes on to state that

on one occasion that I visited the Emperor's own city, in going to the imperial palace with my comrades I passed through the bazaar of the painters. . . . In the evening on leaving the palace I passed again through the same bazaar,

and there I saw my own portrait and the portraits of my companions painted on sheets of paper and exposed on the walls. We all stopped to examine the likenesses, and every body found that of his neighbour to be excellent ! I was told that the Emperor had ordered the painters to take our likenesses, and that they had come to the palace for the purpose whilst we were there. They studied us and painted us without our knowing anything of the matter. In fact it is an established custom among the Chinese to take the portrait of any stranger that visits their country.¹

This is the art that was carried westward when the Mongol hordes travelled in that direction, and Chinese portrait painters, brought in their train, became established in the cities of Persia. A few paintings by these experts, with later copies which show their style, have been handed down to us and help to explain what was taking place. But Persia had its own traditions for portraiture, as there is abundant testimony. Early in the tenth century Mas'udi, the Persian historian, describes a manuscript wherein figured the portraits of all the Sasanian kings, following a tradition preserved long after that dynasty had passed away.² It was, however, in the ancient literature of Persia, and also of India, that the portrait played the most popular part. The useful gift of being able to produce at the right moment a lifelike picture of the hero or heroine, thus solving all difficulties, forms the climax of several of the classical stories of both countries. In Persian legend it may be seen in Nizami's *Khusrau and Shirin*, which itself was founded on the old Sasanian story of Shah Khusrau Parwiz (Chosroes Parvez) and his love affairs with the princess Shirin of Armenia. The young prince had an artist friend, Shapur, who dazzles Khusrau with his description of the beauty of Shirin, so that he falls in love with her. Shapur then acts as an intermediary bringing her a portrait of Khusrau, and the Persian artists were never tired of painting pictures of the lady seated in a bower gazing at the precious miniature of her beloved. Other pictures sometimes include scenes wherein we see portraits painted on rocks or hanging on panels suspended from trees, which works of art have an important bearing on the subject of the story illustrated. But while the use of portraiture in their stories was not uncommon with Persian writers, in Indian literature it was even more frequently employed, generally with very telling effect. There is a world-old tradition, supposed to allude to the origin of painting in India, relating how Brahma instructed a king how to bring back from the grave the dead son of a Brahman, by painting a portrait of

¹ Ibn Battuta, in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, by Col. Yule, vol. iv.

² *Miniatures persanes*, by Marteau and Vever, Paris, 1913.

the deceased, which the god forthwith endowed with life, so making an efficient substitute for the youth whom Yama refused to give up. In the *Dwārkā Lilā*, one of the early Indian epics, there is another interesting account of the use of portraiture. The princess Usha dreamt that a beautiful youth appeared to her, and was her companion in her walks abroad. She confided this to one of her maids-of-honour, Chitralkhā (literally, 'a picture'), who had the natural gift of being able to draw a likeness. The maid offered to relieve the anxiety of her mistress by sketching the portraits of all the great men of the time, so that the person in the dream might be identified. As soon as Usha saw the picture of Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna, the youth of her vision was revealed to her, and the artistic incident of course subsequently led to their nuptials, so that the story ended happily. The ancient Sanskrit dramas contain several references to portraiture, as for instance the *Svapna Vāsavadattā*, presumed to be the work of Bhāsa, in which a likeness of the heroine was painted on a tablet and sent to the king Vatsarāja. Kalidasa the poet in his *Meghadūta* uses a somewhat similar *motif*, while in the *Raghuvamśa*, also by this writer, Dasaratha was revealed to his son Rama by the same pictorial means. The employment of the painter for such purposes in the literature of the orient seems to suggest that portraiture was much more in the minds of the people of the East than it ever has been in the West.

The art of portrait painting therefore was no innovation in India when the Mughal rulers began to form their school of miniaturists. But although they had at their command artists with whom portraiture was an ancient but living tradition, it was their own personal predilection for this phase of painting that led to the representation of likenesses becoming a feature of the Mughal school. The Mughal emperors themselves had a gift for descriptive portraiture, as may be seen in some of their writings. Babur in his *Memoirs* includes several crisp character sketches of different people of his time, which are to all intents and purposes equal to Mughal miniatures. He thus draws a pen picture of his own father in the following words :

Umar Shaikh Mirza was a man of low stature, had a short bushy beard, brownish hair, and was very corpulent. He used to wear his tunic extremely tight ; insomuch, that as he was wont to contract his belly while he tied the strings, when he let himself out again the strings often burst. He was not curious in either his food or dress. He tied his turban in the fashion called *Destar-pech* (plaited). At that time all turbans were worn in the *char-pech* (four plait) style. He wore his without folds, and allowed the end to hang down. During the heats, when out of the Divan, he generally wore the

Moghul cap. . . . He was a middling shot with the bow ; he had uncommon force in his fists, and never hit a man whom he did not knock down.

Of another famous Mughal, Sultan Husain, he writes as follows :

he had straight narrow eyes, his body was robust and firm ; from the waist downwards he was of slenderer make. Although he was advanced in years and had a white beard, he dressed in gay-coloured red and green woollen clothes. He usually wore a cap of black lambskin. Now and then, on festival days, he put on a small turban tied in three folds, broad and showy, and having placed a plume nodding over it, went in this style to prayers. He was a lively pleasant man. His temper was rather hasty, and his language took after his temper.

Apart from the sureness of touch which characterizes these sketches, one is at once struck with the very detailed description of the folds of the turban. An artist will understand his reasons. The test of a finished portrait lies in the manner in which the head-dress is depicted, the actual binding on of the turban meaning so much to the Indian mind. Only those artists who have lived in the East can appreciate Babur's care on such a point ; it was as if he were writing the particulars for the use of a portrait painter. Babur, however, appears to have had a very fair opinion of his own skill as a delineator of facial character, for his one recorded remark regarding painting takes the form of a criticism of the portraiture of the famous artist Bihzad. While giving the Persian master credit for being the most eminent of all limners and 'a very elegant painter', he adds, in rather a superior manner, 'but he did not draw young beardless faces well. He made the neck too large. Bearded faces he painted extremely well.'¹ The gift of graphic narration—impressions in a few short sentences—like the strokes of a brush—was hereditary with the Mughals, as may be seen in Jahangir's pen-portrait of his father Akbar. 'He was of the hue of wheat ; and his complexion rather dark than fair ; he was lion bodied, with a broad chest, and his hands and arms were long. On the left side of his nose he had a fleshy mole, very agreeable in appearance, of the size of half a pea.' Compared with Tom Coryate's ill-defined picture of Jahangir himself, the difference in the power of description between the two becomes at once apparent. 'He is', writes this eccentric traveller, 'of seemly composition of body, of a stature little unequal (as I guess not without grounds of probability) to mine, but much more corpulent than myself.' Such a vague attempt at delineation proclaims at once that the Mughal had cer-

¹ Babur, p. 197.

tainly the advantage of the Englishman in his ability to note in a few well-chosen words the personal appearance of those whom he wished to portray.

To their artists the Mughal emperors seem to have communicated some of this instinct for seizing a likeness, which, combined with the natural skill of both Persians and Indians in portraiture, led to the most gratifying results. A brief review of some of the famous people who look out at us from the folios of the Mughals will show the material that the portrait painter selected for his art. From the realms of ancient literature he evolved fancy likenesses of Rustam, the Hercules of the East, of Bahram Gur, the mighty hunter, of Eraj, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche* of ancient Iran (Plate XIII), and many others who have figured in the mythical history of Persia. Coming nearer to his own time, and, accordingly, with more probability of truth in his representations, he pictured many of the heroes of the Mongol régime, who held sway over most of Asia in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Among them may be seen Sultan Ogatay to whose might the great Chinese Empire succumbed, and whose timely death saved Europe from the Mongol hordes. Here also is the open countenance of Mangu Khan, with whom the decay of the empire of Chinghiz Khan began, and of his co-regent in the west, Hulagu, who, when he sacked and destroyed Baghdad in 1258, struck oriental civilization to the heart. Of the same period are preserved the features of those pillars of Iranian culture, the renowned mystic Jalal ud-Din Rumi, and his contemporary Sa'di, as famed in poetry as he was in prose. But it is when we come to the period of the Timurids, in which the portraits are presumed to be more strictly authentic, that we can feel that the art of portraiture is on firmer ground. Hitherto the painter was no doubt executing his likenesses very largely from traditional records, rather than from pictures painted from the original person, although some of them certainly bear evidence of having been drawn from life. Of the Timurid dynasty we have almost every important representative, from the dreaded Amir himself (Plate IV, Fig. 1) directly down the line to his distant descendants on the Mughal throne of Hindustan. Apart from this collateral branch, however, the portrait gallery displays the visages of all the other members of the house of Timur, including the illustrious Shah Rukh, who so beautified Herat that for a time it was considered the most sumptuous city in the East; also his nephew, Baisunghar, whose refined disposition, and the patronage he extended to all painters, poets, and men of letters, did not prevent him from dying unknown and forgotten in A. D. 1499.

Nobles and men of daring, saints and dervishes, who lived at the courts of these Timurid princes are also freely represented, so that a very real picture of the people of their time, both great and small, is there for our study.

But the collection of Persian celebrities, historically important though it may be, is completely overshadowed by the mass of portraiture that was produced by the artists of the Mughals. The emperors themselves, from Babur the founder of the dynasty in 1526, right down the line to Bahadur Shah the last king of Delhi who died in exile in 1862, are fully represented, all of them drawn from life, and many of the portraits charming examples of the miniaturists' art. Added to these are pictorial records of many of the warriors and scholars, who, either by their heroic deeds or cultured achievements, brought lustre to the Mughal rule. Here is Abu'l Fazl the historian, Akbar's Boswell, as he has been aptly styled, the writer of the *A'in-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnāma* besides other weighty volumes which throw a valuable light on the early administration of the Mughals. His brother Faizi, 'prince of poets', and Tansen the famous musician, as prominent masters of their respective arts, are frequently depicted. Chief among the Mughal ministers stands Todar Mall, who combined the duties of a general in the field with those of revenue minister, two very different offices, but both of which he filled with equal success. With him may be seen other famous Hindus who gave Akbar of their best in his work of reconciling the conflicting interests of the many various people that constituted the Mughal empire. Here is the Raja Birbal, now known mainly on account of his princely palace, one of the most attractive buildings at Fathpur Sikri; likewise Raja Man Singh of Amber, who fought so bravely side by side with his emperor at the battle of Sarnal, and showed his Rājput chivalry in many another desperate encounter. These and many others, named and unnamed, crowd the folios, or look out at us from collections of Indian miniatures. In one picture may be seen a dark robed figure, with light complexion, identified as Father Francisco Corsi, a Jesuit priest from Florence, who lived and worked for several years at the court of the Mughals, and, incidentally, acted as interpreter for Sir Thomas Roe. Some of the copies from miniatures of the West, which gave Jahangir such delight, have been preserved, including one of Lady Roe, the wife of the Ambassador, from the original by the English artist Oliver, the full story of which is well told in Roe's *Embassy*. Among the lesser characters, whose reputations have lived longer than their masters', may be noted the famous buffoon, Mullā-dū-piyāza, whose

mirth-provoking witticisms still move to laughter those to whom the name of his imperial employer, Akbar, is utterly unknown. But the list is unending—princes and priests, courtiers and grooms, musicians and dancing girls, soldiers and mendicants, all sorts and conditions of men and women, jostle one another in this remarkable portrait gallery. And the Mughal artists did not confine themselves solely to the human element, for there are many pictures of animals, portraits of favourite elephants and horses painted with no little truth and feeling. Among the former may be seen *Dilshankar*, or 'Mind-Happiness', and *Lāj Ratan*, the 'Jewel of Modesty', while of the latter there is the favourite steed of Prince Dara Shikoh, named *Dilpasand*, or 'Heart's Delight'; to these may be added domestic pets, such as the beautiful black-buck *Sarang Dil*, or 'Song of the Soul', whose graceful proportions only the brush of Manohar was considered good enough to portray. Of favourite hawks there are many pictures, while cranes, peacocks, fighting quails, and other animals and birds are frequently depicted, because they gave in life all the sport and pleasure within their power to their delighted owners.

While the Mughals inherited the love of portraiture from their Mongol ancestors, it cannot be said that it was quite the same instinct which prompted both people to like the same thing. Several centuries of civilized life separated the latter from the former, and there was a vast difference between the mental outlook of the barbaric Central Asian tribes and their more refined descendants in India. It was not the almost childish desire displayed by his primitive predecessors for the curious in art which inspired the Mughal, for he had advanced a stage beyond that, but it was ordinary human vanity that led him to take an ardent interest in portraiture. This is shown not only in the numerous individual likenesses of the Mughal emperors, but in those frequent representations of court scenes and ceremonies, in which they are the central figures, elevated above all others. As it was the custom for the monarch to have himself so depicted, similar representations of the less important people about the Mughal court became the fashion. All conditions were favourable for the development of this art, as the atmosphere of the time was a supremely personal one, and every individual was eager for some form of immortality, historical or pictorial. It was an age of materialism, and portraiture seemed to be one of the means of satisfying an obvious craving for the realities of life, for there is nothing illusory in a likeness—it is a definite and concrete fact of the person's existence. To meet the demand were many artists, Persian and Indian, with a traditional and instinctive gift for

portraiture. These artists were fortunate in their patrons who had an insatiable desire for their work, while on their part the Mughals were fortunate in finding such talent ready and awaiting their orders. The portrait painter of the time was a master of his craft. His pictures are a model of fineness and finish, and in the amount of character that they exhibit have not often been excelled. Stored in his mind was much knowledge of human nature, so that he saw not only the face of his sitter, but, reflected in it, the man himself. Contemporary writers may have described such a person as they thought he would like to be known—in fulsome and flattering language, according to the custom of the historian of the time. But almost unintentionally the artist presents us not only with the truth and the whole truth, but something more. Either knowingly or sub-consciously he wrung out his secrets, and painted him as his deeds had marked him, noble or petty, cruel or kind, generous or mean, true or false, strong or weak, each according to his nature is revealed by means of the delicate outlining and subtle modelling of this gifted character-delineator.

The Mughal emperor's sense of vanity was not confined only to his own personal appearance, nor to his desire to be pictured seated in kingly state. It extended farther, and included a very natural pride in his distinguished ancestry. It pleased him to be portrayed not only alone, or surrounded by his officials, but shown in close communion with his forbears, in a group in which he could see himself sitting with all the great men of his family, for several generations. These pictures were really illustrated genealogical trees, so designed as to give the appearance of the whole of its members being alive and gathered together at the same time. Such an incongruity did not trouble the Mughal emperor so long as he knew that he was included in the company of those illustrious ones who had helped to make history. A remarkable example of the kind, and one of the most valuable portrait groups of the period, may be studied in a picture in the British Museum entitled the 'Princes of the House of Timur' (Plate LX). It was evidently executed at the order of Akbar by one of the Persian artists at his court, most probably Abdus Samad, as it is very much in his style of work. Moreover, it is painted on cotton cloth, similar to the illustrations of the Amir Hamzah, to the production of which this artist devoted several years of his life. The Mughal emperor occupies a central position in the composition, and seems to be verging on thirty-five years of age; as the picture bears every appearance of being contemporaneous it was therefore most likely painted about 1577. Portraits of Jahangir,

Shah Jahan, and some of the later Mughal princes are also included in the group, but a close inspection shows that they are subsequent interpolations. Akbar was an enthusiastic admirer of portraiture, and his lessons in drawing took the form of copying the likenesses of various people, if we are to accept the rather vague story which has been handed down. But when he grew to man's estate his ideas on the subject became very practical, as the following extract from the *A'in* plainly testifies. 'His Majesty himself sat for his likeness and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed ; those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them.' It is to be regretted that this album has perished, or at least that only fragments of it remain, scattered among various collections, but it is clear from Abu'l Fazl's statement that Akbar's scheme as a whole does not appear far removed from that of a national portrait gallery. Towards this the picture of the 'House of Timur' was no doubt a notable contribution. It shows the complete Timurid-Mughal dynasty from the Amir himself down to the Emperor Akbar, with the subsequent additions of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Prince Parviz. All are seated and feasting in a beautiful garden, with a throne and canopy in the centre arranged for the accommodation of the most important personages. Such family groups were popular with the Timurids and the Mughals, as Jahangir describes one in his memoirs, received from Persia, which might have been the fellow of the one under description. It was an historic production 'of the fight of Sāhib Qirān (Timur) with Tuqtamish Khan, and the likenesses of him and his glorious children, and the great Amirs who had the good fortune to be with him in that fight, and near each figure was written whose portrait it was'. And near each person represented in the picture in the British Museum, the name also is written, so that there is no difficulty in identifying every member.

Unfortunately the painting is much damaged, not only have portions of the composition been cut entirely away, but in the case of some of the faces the surface is so abraded that definition in the reproduction is almost impossible. Sufficient remains, however, to show that the picture was an exceptionally fine one, and the portraits carefully studied. In the centre, seated under the canopy, is the Amir Timur, and beside him is Akbar either receiving or handing him a book. The rest of the company include, on the left Mirza Kamran, the second son of Babur, with his elder brother Humayun. Babur himself comes next, conversing with his father 'Umar Shaikh,

whose appearance has already been described on page 143, in the extract from the former's memoirs. The remaining three princes on the same side are Sultan Abu Sa'id, Sultan Muhammad, and Miran Shah. On the opposite side of the pavilion, to the right, are three illustrious Timurid princes—Abu Bakr Mirza, a son of Shah Rukh; his brother, Baisunghar Mirza, a man of letters and a patron of art, after whom one of the sub-schools of Persian painting has been named, and, on the extreme right, their father, Shah Rukh himself, the fourth and most famous son of Timur. The whole picture is reproduced on Plate LX, with an enlarged portion on Plate XII, while the features of two of the most famous Mughals therein are also reproduced, the size of the originals, Babur on Plate IV, and Akbar on Plate LX, Fig. 2. Babur's portrait appears to be an excellent one, and shows his complexion tanned by exposure, and a quizzical smile on his face as he listens to a remark being made by 'Umar Shaikh. It is a great misfortune that Humayun's figure just below is so abraded, as an early portrait of this emperor is much to be desired. There are many representations of him, most of them of late date, but no good ones, although it may be noted that in nearly all he is depicted in a peculiar attitude with inclined head and body leaning forward, suggesting that in some way the artist was trying to express as faithfully as he could his somewhat invertebrate character. But it is to the portrait of Akbar that we turn with the greatest interest. Compared with his predecessors in the picture the whole appearance of the Mughal emperor is different. Gone is the rakish high-peaked cap, the *kulāh* of the Turkoman, and in its place is the closely bound turban, or *chīrā* of the Indian Rājput. Gone is the free-grown beard of the orthodox Musalman, and in its place is the shaven chin with the side-whisker, or *galmuchh*, of the Muttra Hindu. In dress and in feature Akbar bears little resemblance to any of his ancestors, either Timurid or Mughal; for, as far as external effect goes, he has actually become 'an Indian of the Indians'. The story of this outward conversion is fully told in the contemporary chronicles, as well as the change in his inward convictions which found expression in the new religion he devised of the *Dīn Ilāhī*. It is even recorded that Akbar and also Jahangir at one time went so far as to adopt the *tilak*, or caste mark, of the Hindus. Fashion, in appearance as well as in dress, is very noticeable in Mughal portraiture. The courtiers, as at all times and in all countries, followed the lead of the head of the state, and many imitated the emperor even to the minutest detail. Such fashions, it may be observed, were not always voluntary, as Akbar issued certain orders

on the subject which, at any rate for a time, were sedulously followed. The result is that in some of the earlier pictures it is not easy at first sight to distinguish Hindus from Muhammadans. On the other hand, it assists the connoisseur not a little in being able to decide with a greater degree of accuracy the period to which a picture belongs. In head-dress, the facial hair, the shape of the tunic, and in footwear, the majority of the princes and nobles copied the king ; and, as each sovereign had his own ideas on the subject of personal appearance, these were changed in each reign. It is interesting to note how Jahangir's vanity led him always to wear pearls in his ears, and how the custom was ingenuously imitated by many of his officials, and by all those who wished to be considered in the height of fashion ; and how in the succeeding reign the shaven chin became unfashionable, as Shah Jahan preferred a well-trimmed beard.

Jahangir was as fond of portraiture as his father, and he was certainly the most frequently painted member of the dynasty. There are innumerable likenesses of him from babyhood until he became a flabby and rather dissipated elderly man. One reason why so many pictures of Jahangir exist is because he instituted the custom of presentation portraits, which he gave to all those whom he wished to honour. On one occasion he writes :

as Adil Khan was constantly asking for a likeness of myself, I sent him one, and wrote this quatrain on the portrait with my own hand :

O thou to whom is always turned the eye of kindness
Repose at ease under the shadow of my fortune.
I have sent thee my own portrait,
That thou mayest see me spiritually from my picture.

The English ambassador Roe was the recipient of one of these pictorial favours, which were given out to all high officials who came to the court. Jahangir was also the inventor of the ' portrait jewel ', and used to make his courtiers wear miniatures of himself, mounted as a brooch and attached to the front of their turbans. Shah Jahan copied his father in both these fashions, as in the Rampur State Library there is a portrait of the former with an inscription on the reverse to the effect that he was presenting it to one of his generals in token of his devoted service. In the original of the picture reproduced on Plate XXIV, a magnifying glass reveals several of those present at the durbar wearing pendants and brooches containing minute portraits of the emperor. The most skilful portrait painter of Jahangir's reign was a Hindu of the name of Bishandās, who is described in the memoirs as being ' unequalled in his age for

taking likenesses'. A few examples of this artist's work have survived, including an illustration in the South Kensington *Bāburnāma*, a picture in the Boston Museum, and a sketch in the Tagore collection, Calcutta. There is also a portrait of Shah Abbas in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which may be by the same artist's brush, or a very good contemporary copy. Bishandās was selected by Jahangir for the important duty of accompanying a mission to Persia 'to take the portraits of the Shah and the chief men of his State'. Most of his pictures are therefore the results of his journey there, and no doubt many of the portraits of Persian princes and noblemen figuring in collections of Mughal pictures were originally painted by Bishandās. Jahangir was pleased with his work, for he remarks on his return that 'he had drawn the likenesses of most of them, and especially had taken that of my brother the Shah exceedingly well, so that when I showed it to any of his servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn'. As a reward 'the painter was honoured with the gift of an elephant'.

Jahangir added his own portrait to the family group of the 'Princes of the House of Timur', but as it was not originally intended to form part of the composition the appearance of the picture is not improved by the introduction, as the central portion thus becomes rather overcrowded and unbalanced. On obtaining possession of the sceptre, however, all the monarchs seem to have indulged in certain formalities, to show to the world that they had assumed power. One in which they always indulged was that of adding their own personal seal to much of the state property, as for instance the most valuable of the books and illustrated manuscripts in the imperial library. On the fly-leaf of those which they appreciated most they occasionally added in their own handwriting a florid inscription relating to themselves and the regard they felt for such a work of art. It was somewhat the same idea which inspired them to introduce their own portraits into the Timurid family group. Jahangir himself was very proud of his origin, which shows itself in several similar paintings, and specially in a peculiar portrait-picture in the Rothschild collection. The lower part of the miniature is occupied by a series of twelve circles, in each of which is a likeness of the emperor, from the time he was a small child until he was a man of forty years of age. Above is a genealogical tree tracing out his descent from the Amir Timur, in a well-designed calligraphic panel; the whole is cleverly executed, but as a picture it is more interesting than artistic. Although Jahangir liked to see pictures of himself on all occasions, nevertheless he was also interested in the portraits of

others. The numerous pictures of public functions which figure in collections of Mughal miniatures were often only the artist's excuse for a series of portraits, as they were a suitable opportunity for recording the features of all those who were in attendance on the court, the actual subject of the painting being in itself of secondary importance. Such an idea was no doubt mainly responsible for the picture reproduced in the frontispiece, which is a representation of an ordinary court ceremony, but at the same time it gave the artist an excellent opportunity to immortalize every one present, from the highest official in the centre to the insignificant chorus girl in the corner. The names of some of the principal people in the picture are minutely written near them, and, facing the emperor, inscribed in this manner will be seen three prominent noblemen, who took a large share in the government of the country during Jahangir's reign. At the top of the group in front of the throne, light of complexion, and wearing an orange-coloured turban, is I'timad-ud-daula, whose name is now associated with one of the most charming examples of jewelled architecture ever devised by the master-builders of the Mughals. This is his tomb at Agra, a white marble pavilion profusely inlaid with precious stones. His chief claim to fame, however, is that he was the father of Jahangir's queen, Nur-Jahan, who herself was one of the most attractive and at the same time remarkable women of her time. I'timad-ud-daula had a most distinguished career, and retained all his life the friendship of his royal son-in-law, so much so that on his death the emperor wrote, 'he was a wise and perfect Vizier, and a learned and affectionate companion'. Immediately below him is his son Asaf Khan, who was one of the pillars of state during Jahangir's reign. His tomb near Lahore was, in its time, a beautiful building profusely covered with exquisitely coloured tiles, but, alas, much of its decoration is now decayed. It seems not unlikely that both father and son were of an artistic disposition, as apart from the beauty of their tombs both were recipients of copies of the Jahangir-nama, most probably fully illustrated, from the hands of its royal author. Jahangir gave such works of art only to those who he knew would appreciate them and enjoy their contents. Behind Asaf Khan, and leaning on a staff, is the portly figure of the Khwaja Abu'l Hasan, most of whose service was spent in the Deccan, of which part of the Mughal empire he had an intimate knowledge; Jahangir made great use of the Khwaja's shrewd advice in the administration of this distant and difficult portion of his dominions.

From a review of the official celebrities, let us turn to a few of

the great savants of the East whose lineaments have been preserved by the skill of the Mughal painters. Of these none can be more interesting than that of the illustrious Persian writer, Sa'di, whose weather-stained features stand out with singular force in this long series of portraits of eminent people from Persia and Hindustan. It is good to look on the philosopher in the flesh, so to speak, and to call to mind some of the wise sayings of the 'nightingale of the groves of Shiraz', as his contemporary, Jami, generously called him. With no little truth it has been said that what Shakespeare is to the West, so Sa'di is to the East, as his writings are known, read, and quoted all over the orient and many other countries besides. One's gratitude therefore goes out to the nameless Mughal painter who has presented us with the likeness of such a remarkable man in such an artistic form. It may be noted that Sa'di died some three hundred years at least before the picture reproduced on Plate LXI, Fig. 1, was painted, but its very excellence is not the least convincing proof of its authenticity, as it is no doubt a copy of a drawing from life made when the great writer was at the height of his fame. For Sa'di matured late, after numerous adventures in many different countries, and the marks of his vicissitudes are most truthfully recorded in the outlines of his face and the spareness of his figure. Born in Shiraz towards the end of the twelfth century, and educated at Baghdad, he left home and began his wanderings at an early age. On an expedition to Palestine he was taken prisoner by the Crusaders, and forced to labour, with the dregs of the Levant, in the fosse at Tripoli. After a series of romantic experiences he was eventually released and began a pilgrimage, sometimes as a soldier and on occasion as an ordinary traveller, to many of the countries of the East, including a visit to India. When past middle age he settled down in the city of his birth, to devote himself to those compositions which soon placed him among the great ones. Of his many works, the *Gulistan*, or 'Garden of Roses', is the most widely read, mainly because of the many wise observations on life in general that it includes in its four *bābs*, or 'gateways'. 'They asked me', he writes, 'of whom didst thou learn manners?' I replied: 'From the unmannerly. Whatever I saw them do which I disapproved of, that I abstained from doing.' The picture shows him as one who would live up to that ideal, an old man—he lived to a great age, a hundred and eight years, it is said—but he stands erect and alert, looking the world squarely in the face, lean in body as would become a philosopher and a hardy traveller. Through the deep marks left by years of privation and peril, furrowed by the winds of the desert and of the

sea, gleams a kindly sympathetic expression, while the long, tapering, sensitive hands add just that note of refinement which is required to complete the whole. It is doubtful whether in all the long series of Mughal portraits there is another equal to this.

Of a different type, but containing much that is of the same quality as the last, is what purports to be a portrait of Akbar's poet laureate, Faizi, reproduced on Plate LXI, Fig. 2. Faizi died in his fiftieth year, and the person here depicted appears to be considerably older, but he was always a delicate man, a sufferer from asthma, which may have aged him before his time. The poet and his brother Abu'l Fazl, whose chapter on painting has been so freely quoted in these pages, were close friends and advisers of Akbar, and exercised considerable influence over their imperial master in many ways. Both were free-thinkers, a condition which suited Akbar very well at the time when he was evolving his 'Divine Faith', and were strong supporters of his unorthodox views. Faizi himself was a profound scholar, very broad-minded, and one of the first Muhammadans to apply himself to a diligent study of Hindu literature. He translated and adapted several Sanskrit works in poetry and philosophy, besides being the author of a great deal of original poetry and of other writings in Persian. Whether the picture here presented substantiates its claim to be his likeness or not, it is a remarkable drawing, and shows the Mughal delineator at his best.

There are several pictures of Miyan Tansen Kalawant, the most gifted musician at the court of the Mughals, but for the best portrait of this genius it is necessary to refer to the illustration on Plate XXXI. Among the instrumentalists seen in the picture there is one of whom the artist has taken special pains to make a very careful likeness. An enlargement of the whole group of musicians has been made on Plate LXII, as the clean-shaven elderly man playing the *sitār* in the centre has been identified as Tansen, of whom Abu'l Fazl declared that 'a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years'. Competition to retain him as one of the stars of the court was keen among the Indian princes, but Akbar's might prevailed, and the Raja of Rewa was compelled to surrender him to his overlord. He was a Hindu, and began his career at Gwalior, where a famous school of music had been founded by the Raja Man Singh Tomar (1486-1518). Afterwards he became a Muhammadan, and, as the portrait proves, lived to see service under Jahangir as well as Akbar. Besides being a musician, Tansen was also a versifier, but it was as a singer that he attained the greatest fame. To the present day his tomb in Muslim holy ground at Gwalior is visited by Indian

musicians, who, by eating a few leaves of the *nīm* tree under whose shadow he lies, hope to attain for themselves something of the sweetness of that voice which for three centuries has been stilled. In his portrait the artist has risen to great heights in the effort to depict the singer in his most attractive mood. Tansen had his failings, they are recorded as those of his temperament, but the painter has presented us with the refined thoughtful features and earnest pose of a true artist, one who loved his art and lived for it alone.

One kind of picture that was popular with the Mughals was the equestrian portrait. Richly dressed nobles, with lance and buckler, beautifully balanced on prancing and gaily caparisoned chargers, are a feature in all folios of this art. The idea is entirely an Indian one. Horses in Persian pictures are common, and cavaliers charging across the country on fleet Arab steeds are frequently represented. But in Persian painting the equestrian portrait is practically unknown. The Mughals were no better horsemen than the Persians, neither are their drawings of the animal so good as those of the Safavid school. But they realized the dignity and importance of a fine seat on a fine horse, and how well such a combination lent itself to pictorial effect. Plate LXIII, which depicts a cavalier who has been identified as Prince Dara Shikoh, is a typical example of this form of portraiture. It is a graceful and spirited composition, in spite of its conventional intention, and displays a sense of rhythm, which gives it no little charm. The straight line of the lance emphasizes the springing curves in the horse, while the rich colouring of the costume and the horse-equipment, the whole on a delicate terra-verte ground, make the picture a very attractive one. Dara Shikoh's misfortunes have already been referred to, but his brother Shuja's end, also due to the Machiavellism of Aurangzeb, may be mentioned here, as an excellent portrait of the prince has survived, and is reproduced on Plate LXIV, Fig. 1. In a very simple specimen of outline drawing in the *siyāhī qalam*, we see the features of Shah Jahan's second son, who has not inaptly been designated Prince 'Valiant'. Here he is shown as a mere youth of about sixteen years of age, but he lived until over forty, when, hunted from cover to cover like a wounded animal by his more successful rival to the Mughal throne, he disappeared for ever into the jungles of Arakan.¹ Another tragical circumstance, reflecting in this case on the character of the Emperor Jahangir, is recalled by the portrait of the rider on Plate LXIV, Fig. 2. An inscription on the picture states that it represents Sher

¹ *Aurangzib*, by Lane-Poole, Oxford, 1893, p. 58.

Afghan, the first husband of Nur-Jahan. After many dramatic escapes, which form the subject of more than one Mughal picture, from the nets spread by the covetous Jahangir, this nobleman, whose only fault was that he possessed a beautiful wife, finally succumbed to the hired assassin's knife in 1607. Sher Afghan had a reputation for bravery which he had often to display under very trying conditions, and his features and pose in the picture seem to suggest something of the chivalry with which he was accredited. The miniature is much mutilated—in the course of its vicissitudes it has been ruthlessly cut down—but even in its present state it is not difficult to see that the artist has been successful in his decorative treatment of the horse. In all these pictures of equestrian subjects it is instructive to follow the development of this animal through its various stages, from the pure Arab in the Persian illustrations to the coarse country-bred of the later Indian miniatures.

Mughal painting was essentially a masculine art, confining itself almost entirely to the lives of men, and paying little attention to the doings of the fair sex. The social and domestic customs of the people were of course largely responsible for the omission, as the women of the country lived almost entirely 'behind the veil'. Portraits of women, therefore, are not common, although a number, purporting to be likenesses of eminent persons, are to be found in most collections. Nevertheless it is doubtful whether they are authentic pictures of those whose names they bear, but are most probably portraits evolved from the artist's imagination. On this point Manucci, who lived for years in Hindustan during the reign of Aurangzeb, writes emphatically: 'I do not bring forward any portraits of queens or princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their being always concealed. If any one has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted, being only likenesses of concubines and dancing girls, &c., which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy.' The few portraits of Indian queens and princesses which have come down to us certainly seem to support the Italian's dictum: they show, as a rule, no great merit, and none of that character which the Mughal artist put into the features of his men. It is very unlikely that any painter was permitted into the presence of the ladies of the royal family, even for the purpose of taking their likenesses, and no reliable portraiture could have been obtained in any other way. It is true that occasionally the Mughal queens were allowed considerable liberty, or it is possible that an unusually strong personality, as for instance Jahangir's consort Nur-Jahan, may have demanded it, and so appeared in public. The

'Light of the World', for such is a literal translation of her name, was no delicate hot-house plant, but very much a woman of the world, taking her full share of the joys and sorrows of her husband's public life, as the records of the time bear testimony. The seclusion of the *zenana* may have been the custom, but the frequent occasions on which the spirited lady threw off her veil in order to experience the delights of the chase are recorded with obvious pride by Jahangir in his memoirs.

On the 7th, as the huntsmen had marked down four tigers I went out to hunt them with my ladies. When the tigers came in sight Nur-Jahan Begum submitted that if I would order her she herself would kill the tigers with her gun. I said, 'Let it be so.' She shot two tigers with one shot each and knocked over the two others with four shots. In the twinkling of an eye she deprived of life the bodies of these four tigers. Until now such shooting was never seen, that from the top of an elephant and inside of a howdah (*'amāri*) six shots should be made and not one miss, so that the four beasts found no opportunity to spring or move. As a reward for this good shooting I gave her a pair of bracelets (*pahunchi*) of diamonds worth 100,000 rupees and scattered 1,000 ashrafis (over her).

Even on such an adventure the queen sat in an *a'māri* or covered howdah, thus screened from the public eye as much as the unusual circumstances would permit, and no doubt all members of the male sex, except those necessary for her safety, were withdrawn from the vicinity. Moreover Jahangir, who would never have allowed such an event to pass without a pictorial record being made, refrained from doing so on this occasion, due no doubt to the presence of the ladies. Fancy portraits professing to be Nur-Jahan shooting at birds and animals are seen in some collections, but none of these bears any real evidence of being authentic representations of the scenes they are intended to depict. Until, therefore, more substantial proofs are forthcoming that the artists were allowed to make direct studies of the ladies of Indian households, Manucci's statement may be accepted as a fairly accurate description of the condition of female portraiture under the Mughals.

A study of a large number of Mughal portraits shows that these resolve themselves into two definite methods of representation, one in which the features are depicted in rigid profile, and the other in which they are drawn in what is known as the three-quarter face. It would be consistent with the growth of the art if the former were the earlier, and the latter the later products of the portrait painter's brush. The facts, however, serve rather to indicate that the reverse was the case, for the two styles emerge at the same time, progress side

by side, and in the end the rigid profile ousts the three-quarter view and becomes the accepted method of depicting the features in all the later portraiture. An example of the two styles will be seen on Plate LXI, Fig. 1, presenting the conventional profile, while Fig. 2 shows the more natural three-quarter view. A probable explanation of the parallel course of the two methods is that the one was the result of the Persian, and the other of the Indian tradition. In the works of the Persian schools a figure with an exact side-face was rarely depicted; it was the artist's practice, even in the most abstract or conventional representations of the human form, to draw the features in a three-quarter position. On the other hand it is unusual to see in any collection of indigenous Indian pictures, as for instance in the Rājput style, the face drawn from any other point of view except that of exact profile. Taking the Mughal art as a whole, it will be found that features drawn from the three-quarter view are rarer than those in profile, and are more often seen in those figures forming part of a large group in a picture, than in portraits of single individuals. As the art progressed the three-quarter face, although it is occasionally seen in the portraiture of Shah Jahan's reign, gradually became obsolete, and eventually was superseded almost entirely by the rigid profile. The Mughal method of depicting the sitter exactly from the side was not confined only to the head and features but also to the feet. As a contrast to this, however, the shoulders and body were represented at an angle and with a certain effect of foreshortening. The whole idea was a conventional one, controlled by certain traditions and customs, and dependent very largely on the changing fashions of the time. In the hands of any but a naturally gifted artist, a portrait produced on such terms would tend to be stiff and lifeless, lacking in interest and conviction. As would be expected, the result at its best is a decorative production. By sheer artistry, however, the painter has not only redeemed it from what might have been an archaic commonplace, but has presented us with a work of art of great merit. A good Mughal portrait, in spite of its limitations of scale, undoubtedly possesses considerable character and charm. In the first place it rarely fails to carry conviction in its drawing, and to give the impression of being a truthful likeness. To make sure of this the artist went about his work in a very thorough manner. He made small 'thumb nail' sketches of his sitter in black and white, either while this person sat before him, or as he went about his duties. Abu'l Fazl states distinctly that Akbar sat for his likeness, and the pictures themselves bear evidence of having been drawn from life, not 'visualized', as some have main-

tained. It seems not improbable that the court artist did his work in a manner similar to the scribe who is depicted taking his notes, at the bottom of the picture reproduced in the frontispiece, except that the one used the reed pen and the other the squirrel-hair brush. The court painter would be present on such occasions with his sketch-book to record the portraits of all and sundry who were at the durbar. His sketches for portraiture usually show the head only finished, the shape and position of the body being indicated by a few suggestive lines. Many of these preliminary studies have come down to us, and a few of them are illustrated on Plate LXV. In no sense are they rough or careless impressions, done on the chance of catching the likeness, but in all cases they are careful studies, accurate and detailed in every respect, and forming perfect working drawings from which the finished miniatures were painted.

As in all art work, some of these preliminary studies are superior to the completed likeness, where the laboured finish has not been an improvement on the original sketch. A typical Mughal portrait, however, fully coloured and with a rich but harmonious background, is one of the most pleasing phases of the Indian miniaturist's art. The painter put his finest efforts into the face, so that in the outline of the features and in the fineness of his drawing generally he has been rarely excelled. It is an interesting study to trace the evolution of this facial outline as expressed at different periods in the various schools of painting in the East. In early Chinese painting, and in the contemporary frescoes of India, a red outline is usually employed but with the eyes and eyebrows often painted in black. The same method is seen in the later art of Eastern Turkestan, while in the earlier Persian miniatures it became very marked, especially in the paintings of the Safavid school, where the red outline is accentuated in the nose, lips, and ears, with the eyes and eyebrows always an intense black. This formula was brought to Hindustan in the train of the Mughals, but it soon disappeared when the Indian painters threw off the Persian leading-strings and evolved their own style. The outlines of the features as drawn by the Mughal artist are usually in a fine grey or neutral colour, and he rarely employed coloured conventions as did many schools of Asiatic art. Fine as a hair, as clear and definite as it is possible for human hand and eye to make it, the line of the features in these miniatures is a remarkable piece of execution. Although a late example, Plate XXIX illustrates the Indian painter's complete control over his brush when delineating a face in profile. But excellent though the outline is, it is equalled by the subtle modelling of the features themselves, so essential to the life and character of the person depicted. This was obtained by

delicate and carefully blended tones, applied with great precision, in order to reproduce the different qualities of cutaneous surface which cover the hard structures or soft tissues of the face. And over all his technique, blending it and putting life into the whole, was the intuition of the artist himself, that vision which enabled him not only to see into the heart of the man, but to convey by his picture the impression that the spectator too saw him with the same penetrating eye.

The Mughal painter's skill, however, was not confined solely to the features. It is observable in the pose of the head, in the suggestion of the figure under the draperies, but particularly in the drawing of the hands. In all Indian art the pose and expression of the hands has received special attention ; in the Buddhist frescoes this is very noticeable, while with the Hindus the *mudrā*, or symbolism of the hands, is a deep study, as revealed in much of their sculpture and painting. The same appreciation of the character underlying these members animated the Mughal miniaturist, and he made good use of it in his portraiture. Whether they are shown grasping a sword, toying with a flower or a piece of jewellery, holding a hawk, or merely placed one over the other, the result, when produced by a good painter, is always pleasing. He puts into the drawing of the hands a certain distinguishing quality, in some a nervous sensitive feeling, in others suppleness or muscular strength, using one or the other as an aid to express the character of his sitter. The final test of a good Mughal miniature lies in the treatment of the hands. But undoubtedly the outstanding feature of most of these portrait pictures is the colour, for which the artist depended mainly on the richness of the costume and the head-dress. The garments of the upper classes were fashioned out of the *kinkhābs* or cloths of gold for which the Indian weaver was famous ; these had schemes of mauve and apple-green, rose and orange, which a free use of gold blended into a luxurious harmony. Surmounting the head was the plumed and jewelled turban which, with the pearls and jewelled ornaments around the neck, the artist employed with considerable effect as a foil to the delicate painting of the face. As a background he added a golden-green wash, changing at the upper edge of the picture into what obviously purports to be a purple and gold afterglow. The figure stands stiffly in the centre, posed on a small garden plot, or green sward, which occupies the lower part of the miniature. A few flowering plants are sometimes introduced, with the intention of breaking the formality of the composition, but the simplicity of the background contrasting with the richly apparelled figure is evidently the artist's underlying idea.

Until the reign of Aurangzeb, or the middle of the seventeenth century, the art of portraiture, following the course of Mughal painting generally, was an aristocratic one belonging almost exclusively to the court. Then, owing to causes which have been described in another place, a more popular demand arose, emanating from a larger class, which soon showed that it would be content with a production of a lower standard than that prepared heretofore. In the course of time this demand caused this art to fall from its high estate, to cease to be even a craft, and to degenerate into a mere trade, which took the form of reproducing copies of portraits by means of paper stencils. In the case of historical notabilities, there usually existed one or more accepted types of portrait. In the very ancient or semi-mythical portraits these had been obtained from previous copies, and these again from still earlier ones, until it is evident that the presumed 'type' can only be a tradition. When, however, the person depicted had lived in a less remote age, the type was a portrait painted directly from the sitter, varying, of course, according to the artist's capabilities, but nevertheless very often an extremely able but conventional representation of the man and his most striking characteristics. From the type-portrait careful tracings were made, and by means of 'pouncing' each copy, any number of duplicates could be prepared. Large numbers of historical tracing-paper 'stencils' were, until a few years ago, in the possession of the descendants of the old miniature painters, and formed an important part of their professional equipment. Such 'pouncing' covers a large and interesting field, from Suhrab, a hero of early Persian legend, to the last Mughal emperor of Delhi, with almost every person of note in between. Only recently it was possible to secure in the Punjab a portrait of Alexander the Great, with typical Grecian features and helmet, obviously only a mythical likeness but still even now in demand. When, however, the art had arrived at this stage portraiture had completely lost its original spontaneity and charm. The figure had so deteriorated that it always appeared as a stereotyped composition with the same pose, the same look, the same arrangement of the hands, the same costume, the same background, and the same scheme of uninspiring colouring. We see nothing but a wearisome procession of people badly drawn and often worse painted, yet nevertheless even in this degenerate form the art has lingered on to the present day. Descendants of the old Mughal painters still carry on their profession in the bazaars of Delhi, reproducing on disks of ivory or bone any member of the dynasty according to order, but these are mere characterless copies of the original portraiture of the Mughals.

VIII

EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

THE occidental, when first confronted with a Mughal miniature, is apt to find himself presented with two conflicting thoughts. On the one hand he sees before him a picture the basis of which is plainly oriental, while on the other there is something strangely familiar in certain of its features, something which recalls the works of the mediaeval artists of his own sphere. He may exclaim, as some have done, 'an Italian fresco in miniature', while others, whose first acquaintance with the art has been by means of reproductions, have felt that these were reduced copies of pictures of considerable size, or even large wall-paintings. The latter illusion, as to size and mural character, is readily explained, as the immediate predecessors of the Indian miniaturists were wall painters, decorators of temples and palaces, who worked mainly in *tempera* on the prepared surfaces of buildings. At a still earlier date these again derived their artistic skill from their ancestors, the painters of the expansive frescoes of the Buddhist period. It is not difficult to realize, therefore, the source from which the Indian painters derived those qualities of size and breadth and space which are observable in some degree in all their pictorial art. These fundamental characteristics, dating from the Buddhist times, were handed down from generation to generation and underlie all forms of Indian painting even to the miniatures of the Mughals. But the apparent association with primitive Western art, a reminiscence of Siena and Assisi, or the miniatures of the early Florentine and Umbrian schools of Matteo de Giovanni, of Francesco da Rimini, of Paolo Ucelli, which some have suggested, is less easily explained. It may arise from the fact that both arts were linked, the Italian directly, the Indian indirectly, with the same historic school, that of the Byzantine, with its semi-barbaric but splendid decoration composed of contributions from both the East and the West. While this may be one reason, it also raises the question as to whether the early Italian painters, through the Venetians, whose connexion with the orient in the Middle Ages was a close and constant one, ever gave anything to the graphic art of Persia, and so to that of India. In the year 1479 the Turkish Sultan, Muhammad II, engaged the Venetian painter Gentile Bellini

and two assistants to execute a series of pictures for him ; evidences of the Italian artist's sojourn in Constantinople have been noted in a few of the miniatures executed in the Nearer East shortly after that date. Such speculations have, however, little practical value ; where we are on more stable ground is the similarity in growth of the Italian and Indian schools. Both, at least in their technical development, progressed broadly on the same lines—from fresco to *tempera*, and from *tempera* to ' easel-picture '. India, it is true, took longer over the process ; its course was delayed, and, on occasion, almost arrested, but it is most probably to this analogy in evolution that the two schools owe some remote resemblance.

During the long course of its history no date has been more momentous to India than the dawn of the sixteenth century. At this particular time two entirely different forces were appearing on the horizon, in almost opposite directions, each in its turn to spread over the whole of the sub-continent, and profoundly to affect its future. On the north-west frontier were the Mughals under Babur, whose progress and whose influences on the art of the country have been already dealt with in the preceding chapters. On the south-west seaboard the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, had landed, and with his arrival India's direct intercourse with Europe began. What this intercourse has led to may be seen in the constitution of the country at the present day, with which, however, we are not concerned. But the effect that such contact had on the arts of India, and specifically on the painting of the Mughals, is a necessary portion of the present study. Previous to the appearance of the Portuguese ships off Calicut in 1498, indirect communication between India and the West had been maintained for a very long time. By land it was conducted over caravan routes across Persia, and by sea the Venetians through Arab bottoms had established a thriving trade with the merchants of Gujarāt. But in the relations that took place in the Middle Ages between the two continents there appears to have been little interchange of art, neither Europe nor India having yet arrived at that stage when the decorative designs of the one appear to have had any appreciable effect on those of the other. When, however, the Portuguese during the sixteenth century opened up communication by establishing factories at Calicut, Cochin, and Goa, the ' Europeanization ' of the country began, and it was not long before this revealed itself in Indian art. The first Indian potentate to display an interest in the handiwork of the European craftsman was the Mughal emperor Akbar. Comparatively early in his reign, in 1572, he had spent a year in the conquest of Gujarāt, in close proximity

to some of the Western seaports, where he made the acquaintance of the Portuguese merchants and learned something about them and their affairs. The Mughal ruler appears to have been impressed by their knowledge, for in 1577 he is reported to have retained a Portuguese officer in his service. Europeans were not, however, unknown in the cities of the Mughals, for there was a fair sprinkling of wandering Poles and 'Muscovites', Greeks and Levantines, in the bazaars of Agra and Delhi even at this time. In the south of India, but outside the sphere of Mughal influence, many more were beginning to arrive, as not only trade but the Christian religion brought by the Jesuit priests was making steady progress. With the extension of these missions appear the first known examples of Western art in India. In 1570 one of the priests at Goa was Brother Aranha of Lisbon, a skilled artist and versatile craftsman, who designed and built many of the original Christian churches in the locality, decorating them with religious pictures painted by his own hands. Of the Jesuits' activities in the southern part of the peninsula, and particularly of some of the occidental 'novelties' that they had brought with them, Akbar seems to have obtained certain vague information, which speedily grew into a desire for more definite knowledge. In 1578, therefore, he specially deputed an agent of his court, of the name of Haji Habibullah, to proceed to Goa for the express purpose of making investigations. The emissary's instructions were quite definite: he was ordered to find out personally all he could about the arts and industries that were being practised there, and if possible to bring back examples; further, he was supplied with ample funds for the purchase of any articles of interest, and if for any reason these were unobtainable he was accompanied by a small staff of expert craftsmen who were to make copies of them, so as not to return empty-handed. When the company arrived back at the Mughal court after their long expedition, the emperor was much gratified with the manner in which the Haji had carried out his commission. Not only had he obtained many objects of great curiosity, but his craftsmen had studied and made themselves efficient in many newly acquired arts; and, most important of all, he had actually engaged a number of Europeans to come and carry on their trades at the court of the 'Great Mogul'. Unfortunately the details that have survived of the results of Akbar's enterprise are meagre, although it is recorded that one article which received the special admiration of the emperor was a church organ 'like a great box the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside'. One of the court artists, Mādho Khanazād, subsequently introduced the instrument into

a picture he painted of a musician (Plato) charming a large concourse of wild beasts who lie helpless around him. It forms one of the illustrations in Mr. Dyson Perrins's copy of the *Khamsah* (fol. 298, Plate 40).¹

Such an experience only whetted the Mughal emperor's desire for the productions of the West, and he soon began to cast about for other methods of securing what he coveted. Whether Akbar, in professing an interest in Christianity, was in earnest, or merely using religion as a means to an end, will never be known; but that he favoured it at one time in order to get into closer touch with the Europeans in India, and learn from them as much as possible about Western culture, is quite clear. As a preliminary step in this direction in 1579 he invited to his court at Fathpur Sikri a Jesuit mission from Goa, which arrived there in the following year. The experiences of the three priests who made up the party at the Mughal capital, where they remained for some three years, is a fascinating narrative, most of which lies outside the subject of painting. It was, however, through their presence that Akbar made his first acquaintance with European pictures. As soon as the mission was established at Fathpur Sikri,

the Fathers fitted up a chapel in their new quarters, as handsomely as they could, and placed over the altar a copy of the Madonna of St. Luke at St. Mary Major's, which had been brought from Europe by Father Martin de Sylva, and which St. Pius V had allowed St. Francis Borgia to have made. . . . Akbar, after three or four days, paid a visit to it. On entering, he was struck by the venerable picture [and according to report, made obeisances to it]. A week later, the emperor came again to visit the chapel, with his three sons, Salim, Murad, and Danyal . . . and set them the example of paying due reverence to the holy picture. All expressed their admiration of it. When the emperor turn to go, Blessed Rudolf offered him another Madonna, a work of art which Akbar had especially admired and evidently wished to possess. He received it as a very precious gift, and had it hung in a place of honour in his rooms.²

In one of the apartments of the 'house of Miriam', in Akbar's now deserted capital, there used to be the much-faded remains of a large wall-painting, the subject of which was said to be the Annunciation. It has been suggested that this building, for the time being, may have been made over to the members of the mission for their accommodation; and that the chamber which the picture adorns was possibly their chapel.

¹ Martin, vol. ii, Plate 181.

² *Historia de las Misiones*, by Luis de Guzman, 1601; quoted by Francis Goldie,

S.J., in his *First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, p. 68.

The Jesuit Fathers had no doubt been previously told that an unfailing means of securing the support of the Mughal emperor was to bring with them many examples of European pictorial art. They came prepared, therefore, with a considerable number of paintings of saints and religious subjects, which seem to have been very well received ; these also eventually led to much discussion between the members of the mission and Akbar and his priests. But the object by which the Fathers laid the greatest store, and one which they fondly hoped would be productive of the best results, was a magnificently bound copy of Plantyn's Royal Polyglot Bible, printed in 1569-72 for Philip II of Spain. This they presented to the emperor with no little formality in March 1580. It consisted of eight large volumes, and was illustrated with a number of engravings by Flemish artists of the school of Quentin Matsys (1466-1531), including one who signs his drawings ' P. Huys '. Akbar accepted the gift with evident signs of pleasure, and placed it in his imperial library, where it remained for fifteen years : it was then handed back to a later Jesuit mission which came to the court of the Mughal. There is little doubt that during the period that it was in the emperor's keeping the artists studied the illustrations in this book just as carefully as they did those of the Persian schools, and the result of their study is plainly observable in some of their miniatures. Among its engravings were some pictorial maps displaying galleys and other mediaeval ships sailing through seas in which aquatic monsters disport themselves. Such subjects were entirely unknown to the Mughal painters, who had never seen the sea, and so when they had occasion to depict scenes of shipping they took the Flemish engravings as their guide. We are presented, therefore, in all the marine subjects of the period—and the Mughals seem to have taken a certain amount of pleasure in these on account of their unusual character—with high-prowed ships like the galleons of ancient days, moving over waters rippling with spiral waves among which swim many fearsome creatures, half crocodile and half fish. The relation of such painting to the plates in the Plantyn Bible, while not strongly marked, is, in this particular, sufficiently distinct to be more than a mere coincidence. But still further evidence of the use that Akbar's artists made of the pictorial material from the West that was arriving in their midst is available. Shortly after the Jesuit priests had introduced the Mughals to their collections of religious art and examples of illustrated books, one of Akbar's Kahar artists, Kasava-dasa, or Kesu the elder, began the preparation of a series of miniatures among which were included copies and imitations of Christian

pictures. The whole, when finished, he had bound up in a *muraqqa'* (album), which he presented with a dedication to the emperor in 1588.¹ Miniature copies of sacred pictures from Europe were not infrequently made by the Mughal painters during Akbar's reign, and the practice became still more common under Jahangir. They are to be found in many collections of Indian painting, and a good specimen may be studied in the British Museum, Stowe Or. 16, folio 18. It depicts the 'Scoffing of Christ', and is a careful copy of a European original probably executed by a Hindu painter about 1625. Another picture of the same kind, a portrait of the Virgin, but with an Indian background, is in the Bodleian Library, O. A. 171 b, 16 v. Several miniatures, the subjects of which were similarly inspired, are in the Museum at Washington, U.S.A., having been collected by Colonel Hanna. Some of these, however, while appearing at first sight to be the Indian painters' interpretations of Christian subjects are on closer investigation found to be purely Islamic in origin. Saints with halos, and angels with wings, are not unusual in Persian and Mughal art, being derived from another and older tradition.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, pictures of religious subjects from Europe were not uncommon at Akbar's court, and these before long were followed by paintings of a secular order. None of the latter has survived, but their existence is proved in an interesting manner. In a copy of the *Shāhnāma* illustrated by Akbar's artists is a picture of Humayun watching a number of women dancing.² The pavilion in which the emperor is seated is clearly copied from one which the artist had seen, probably a portion of a palace at Fathpur Sikri. At the back of the throne is a wall, on which, among other decorative effects, is a painted frieze; if the scale of the picture is correct the frieze is about two feet wide, and continues round the four sides of the building. It consists of a series of panels in each of which is a European picture demonstrably of Portuguese origin. One panel depicts an animated scene of two cavaliers, wearing soft brimmed hats and loose cloaks, charging across the landscape. The original pictures were no doubt acquired by Akbar from Portuguese traders, who were now penetrating into his dominions in increasing numbers, and fixed by his order in position on the wall of the royal palace. It was an easy matter, therefore, for the artist to copy the mural scheme thus presented

¹ V. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 472. 'Assess. 9278, 9360' in Royal Library, Berlin; cited by Weber, *Ind. Ant.*, vi. 353.
² Martin, vol. ii, Plate 183.

into his miniature. There is little doubt that by this time European pictures, religious and secular, were the fashion at the Mughal court, being displayed in many of the halls and pavilions of Akbar's capital. And it was not long before these European works of art were followed by European artists. The first of the latter to be heard of in India was Brother Aranha of the Goa mission, who has been already mentioned. Shortly after the return of the priests from Fathpur Sikri, he met with his death, and his place was filled by an English painter of the name of John Storey, who arrived, together with those intrepid travellers Eldred, Fitch, Newberie, and Leedes, about 1583. Neither the Portuguese nor the English painter, however, journeyed as far as the capital of the Mughals, as there was too much work to be done at Goa, in the decoration of new churches and the copying of religious pictures, for them to be spared for this purpose. As the scope of the mission expanded, and the work increased, more artists were sent for from Europe. In 1595 one of these, a Portuguese, accompanied the third Jesuit mission to Lahore, and was the first European painter to arrive at the Mughal court. It was not long before he was summoned by Akbar, and directed to copy in his presence a picture of the Virgin Mary, brought by the priests, which the emperor had much admired. Such an episode in itself affords an interesting picture. We can see the Mughal sovereign seated in state and accompanied by his sons, their gaily coloured attire contrasting with the sombre garments of the small group of Jesuits standing near, while in the background is gathered a brilliant and expectant staff; into the midst of the assemblage steps the young Portuguese painter who proceeds to give an exhibition of his artistic skill.

Ten years elapse after the incident here recorded before the long reign of Akbar comes to an end, and signs are not wanting that Western art never lost its attraction to this picture-loving monarch. But the brief outlines already presented of the growth of the relations between the painting of the Mughals and that of Europe are sufficient to show what was taking place. In his zeal for pictures of all kinds Akbar encouraged the introduction of European art into his dominions, and also extended his patronage to its painters. Moreover, he ordered the court artists to copy all those examples of occidental painting which came into his possession, and saw that they made use of them in their work. The pictures from the West that found their way into India seem to have impressed the Mughals, and even caused some of the more educated officials to make inquiries concerning the artists who produced them. Thus we find Abu'l

Fazl displaying his newly acquired knowledge when he states that the pictures of the Indian artists ' may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame '. It would be surprising if the result of this interest in occidental art were not reflected in the Mughal miniatures of the time, but the effect, however, although occasionally noticeable, is not strongly marked. It is observable in a certain class of painting, the handiwork of the more assimilative of the Hindu craftsmen, who seized on some of the features of European art and put them boldly into their pictures. But as a whole the painting of Akbar's time depicts only in a modified degree the influence of the West.

While Akbar showed a decided proclivity for European pictures, his son was even more interested, and when he became emperor soon appears to have developed into a whole-hearted admirer of all forms of occidental art. As a young man Jahangir was attracted by the pictures brought by the Jesuit missions, and seems to have made friends with its members on that account. In 1602 it is related that he wore around his neck a locket containing miniatures of Jesus and the Virgin, and to have displayed even a greater desire for objects of a similar nature than his father. Three years afterwards when he ascended the throne he was able to indulge his appetite for European art to an unlimited extent. At first he had to be content with religious pictures only, as these were brought in considerable numbers when the Portuguese priests found that their work of proselytism was facilitated by such means. But the arrival of the English embassy in 1615, which opened up an entirely new avenue, eventually led to a large quantity of secular painting making its appearance at the Mughal court. As we have seen, a few pictures of the kind had already been acquired by Akbar, and more were afterwards obtained. At Daulat Bagh or the ' Garden of Splendour ', which Jahangir had built on the Ana Sagar lake, Roe, the English ambassador, saw ' roomes which were Paynted with Antique, and in some Panes Copyes of the French kings, and other Christian Princes '.¹ The Mughal emperor's liking for pictures was not lost on the astute English diplomat, who soon saw that a supply of works of art in the form of presents might expedite his schemes. Accordingly in 1615 we find him writing home for, among other things suitable as gifts to the emperor, ' pictures, lardge, on cloth, the frames in peeces ; but they must be good, and for varyetye some story, with many faces '. Again in the same year he asks his directors for ' pictures, they comming out of Italy ouerland and from Ormus '. Early in

¹ Roe, vol. i, pp. 159 and 240.

1617 a consignment of miscellaneous articles for presentation to the emperor arrived, and the cases were opened at a durbar held for the occasion. When the pictures were taken out, and displayed, even the accomplished and ready-witted Roe found himself embarrassed upon being asked on the spur of the moment to explain to the oriental spectators the meaning of some of these, especially one entitled 'Venus and a Satyre'. Accompanying it were several paintings of allegorical subjects, including one mysteriously described as 'expressing our government', which shows that 'publicity' was aimed at even in those days, although with little thought of the difficulties in which such a peculiar commission placed the unfortunate artist. In spite of the fact that the majority of the pictures were very little understood at the court, Roe continued to have large oil paintings sent out as 'fitt presentes' to the Mughal emperor. He writes again that 'pictuers of all sortes, if good, (are) in constant request ; some large storie ; Diana this yere gave great content'. Portraiture was also included in some of the consignments, one of which consisted of a selection of English royalties and notabilities of the time, and included 'the king my Soueraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths and some others'. A few of these travelled about with the emperor, being always given a prominent place in his council chamber, and two of them may be identified occupying panels on the wall behind Jahangir's throne in the picture reproduced in the frontispiece. The court artists were also commissioned to make small copies of these, thus converting them into Indian miniatures, as may be seen in the portrait of Queen Elizabeth in the Bodleian Library O. A. 171 b, 17 v. To make his copy more presentable the Mughal artist has painted the queen as if standing at an Indian window, and the quilted screen (*kanāt*) had been rolled up so as to form part of the frame.

The effect of the intercourse with the West, which by the seventeenth century was assuming considerable proportions, may be gathered by examining some of the details of the miniature in the frontispiece. Apart from the two English portraits shown in the background and already referred to, the throne on which the emperor is seated was largely the handiwork of a European. It was a present from I'timad-ud-daula, the father of Jahangir's famous consort Nur-Jahan, and he is shown in a prominent place in the picture. The throne was described by the emperor himself in 1619 as 'of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated, the supports of which were in the form of tigers. It had been completed with great assiduity in the space of three years, and was made at the cost of

R. 450,000. This throne had been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand (skilful), who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller, and in all sorts of skill (*hunarmandī*). He had made it very well, and I gave him this name.' As a reward he was 'presented with 3,000 *darb*, a horse and an elephant'. The question has arisen as to whether the craftsman, to whom Jahangir gave such an appropriate title, was not Austin of Bordeaux, the illusive and adventurous jeweller who has been the subject of so much discussion in connexion with the design and construction of the Taj Mahal at Agra. Originally bearing the name of Augustinus Hiriart, and afterwards calling himself Hiriand of Bordeaux, it seems not unlikely that Jahangir, seeing no meaning in the word Hiriand, as a pleasantry transformed it into *Hunarmand*, which is the Persian for 'skilful'. A glance at the picture will show that the throne is of unusual construction, and one of its principal accessories, the overhead canopy decorated with gold embroidery on velvet, is by its design presumably of Italian manufacture. The pattern on the cushion against which the emperor is leaning is also not Indian in character.

There is one other feature in the picture, taken from European art, which, although referred to in a previous chapter, is of sufficient importance to merit a more detailed description. This is the golden nimbus adorning the head of the Mughal sovereign. In itself it is a comparatively minor detail, but the manner in which it eventually found a place in the Indian miniature is of considerable interest. The story of the travels of this symbol, from Asia to Europe and again back to India, from the earliest times until it appears in the Mughal miniature, is a long and involved one. Here, however, the bare outlines will suffice. The origin of the nimbus is traced to the early Persians, with whom in its embryonic form of a celestial aureole of fire it appears as the *hvareno* of Mazdaism. In its usually accepted shape, however, as a circular disk, it is first seen in the Graeco-Buddhist sculpture of the north-western frontier of India, anciently known as Gandhara, about the beginning of the Christian era. Buddhism having thus appropriated the saintly circle, it was carried with the art of that creed to all the distant countries which accepted the doctrine of the Great Teacher. In India a later and Hinduized form of Buddhism, the *Mahāyāna*, then took over the symbol, from which it was only a step to the Brahmanical art of mediaeval times, so that it appears in the sculptures of that country from then onwards, as an attribute of many of the Indian divinities. Such is the account of its first appearance in the art of India. Previous to this, however, it

had begun to travel towards the west of Asia, and from there it found its way into the Byzantine art of Europe in the fifth century of the Christian era. At first it was employed somewhat timidly in Christian art, probably on account of its known pagan origin, but in the course of time this objection was overcome, so that it eventually became the accepted emblem of the Byzantine Church, to be used profusely in all its figure art. In the meantime, however, the rise of Islam in the seventh century had swept it completely out of the Nearer East, as the creed recognized no symbols except those of its own making. But the first fanatical outburst having subsided, it begins to be seen again in the illuminated manuscripts of the Abbasid rulers on the Tigris. The reason for its reappearance in this centre of the Muhammadan faith is not far to seek. Greek artists were employed by the Caliphs of Baghdad, who copied it from the pictures of Christian saints in the Byzantine illustrated books which they used as their guide. From the banks of the Tigris it wandered into the mediaeval pictorial art of Persia, even finding a place in the miniatures of the Mongols until the fourteenth century. But after this date it appears no more in the painting of Iran. It ceased to be used by the artists of Persia when that country closed its door on the West and turned to the Far East for its art. In none of the pictures of the Timurid or Safavid schools is it seen, except in those rare portraits of the holy family of Islam, or of the saints, when, not in the shape of a halo, but as a golden flame, it distinguishes their sacred persons. It naturally follows, therefore, that in the early painting of the Mughals the nimbus is also unknown, as Akbar's artists, not seeing it in any examples of Persian art, were unlikely spontaneously to introduce it into their own. But if the use of the emblem had died out in the painting of the East, the omission was fully compensated for by its universal employment in the West. Christian art in the Middle Ages took the nimbus for its own, and utilized it to such an extent that it has been regarded by many as of purely Christian meaning and origin. With the art of this religion to the extreme west of Europe it travelled, and then, in the sixteenth century, in the hands of the Portuguese Jesuit fathers it turned, and began the long journey back almost to the land of its birth, as it figured prominently in the Christian pictures which these priests brought with them to India in the pious hope that such works of art might be the means of converting the 'Great Mogul'.

Jahangir took the symbol but not the creed, seizing on the halo as an excellent method for distinguishing the Mughal emperor from all others. He fully believed in the divinity of kings; and symbolized

his semi-sanctified state by means of the nimbus in all portraits of himself. In Mughal painting it was reserved strictly for the ruling sovereign of the empire, and in the portraits of no other member of the royal house was it allowed. The idea of its use in this connexion was entirely Jahangir's, so that it is found in no likenesses of his predecessors painted previous to his own reign; any such portraits which include this appendage have been executed subsequent to Jahangir's orders on the subject. A rare exception, however, would be any early portrait of his ancestors to which a nimbus has been added by a later hand. There are of course pictures of Hindu and Muhammadan saints whose figures are dignified by a plain gold halo, and, later, some of the other ruling dynasties in India, as for instance the Adil Shahs of Bijapur, adopted the symbol in their portraiture, but its original intention was to provide a recognized sign of the Mughal emperor. In the painting of his time Jahangir made the application of the symbol retrospective. His respect for his father, not specially noticeable during the latter's lifetime, was rekindled after his death, probably owing to some twinges of remorse, and shows itself in several miniatures in which the son is looking with admiration at a portrait of his parent. In these both monarchs are nimbed. There is an interesting picture of this kind in the Louvre (No. 3676), and the minute portrait of Akbar which Jahangir is holding in his hand depicts the former gazing intently into a large green crystal globe.

Nothing, however, that he thought would be of use to his artists in their work escaped the eye of Jahangir; and his inquiries into the art of other countries, as we have seen in his conversations with Sir Thomas Roe, were most penetrating. In the service of the ambassador was a young English factor of the name of 'Hewes' ('Robert Hughes'), who was fond of sketching. The emperor heard of this, although Roe assured him that he did work 'but very meanly, far from the arte of painting'; yet nothing would satisfy the Mughal until he had seen his sketches, and had 'some speech' with him. As the ambassador had warned him, the young man's drawings were very elementary, and Jahangir apparently thought so too, because he did not ask again to see him. There are indications that the emperor would have liked to have had an English painter in his service, especially after he had seen the wonderful examples of the English school of miniaturists brought by Roe. Such a rumour no doubt prompted an adventurer at the Mughal court, an engineer of the name of Richard Steel, to arrange for one to be brought out. Steel was a native of Bristol, obviously a very plausible person, who persuaded the East India Company to engage him in a general

capacity, and take out with him to India a number of workmen on the chance of his being able to interest the Mughal in his very visionary proposals. But besides the company's work, he had also private schemes of his own, not authorized by the directors, one of which was to smuggle out an artist with the idea that by selling his pictures he might make some money, and incidentally get into closer touch with the emperor. Roe, who was already in India and engaged in the delicate task of obtaining Jahangir's signature to his treaty, was far from pleased at such unexpected and undesirable additions to his entourage. He felt, and with some justification, that they were likely to cause complications, and did not hesitate to say so in his letters home, also reporting that Steel had brought with him 'a Paynter named Hatfield, stole him aboard at the downes, who is bound to him for 7 years (a very good woorkeman both in lymning and oyle) to deuide profitts'.¹ Up to a point Steel's plan succeeded, for we read that 'the Mogol would haue him to take his picture . . . he was admitted . . . into the Mogol's lodgings, where he did sit for the said Limner'.² No results, however, appear to have followed this move, as nothing more is heard of the artist whom the engineer had associated with him in his venture.

On the whole, therefore, it seems that while Jahangir was interested in all those Europeans who had any knowledge of painting, and while he also unreservedly encouraged the importation of Western pictures into his dominions, even ordering his artists to make copies of them, as did his father Akbar, yet as a matter of principle he regarded the painting of his own people as a thing apart. His attitude in this connexion may be judged by the general character of the miniatures of his reign, especially those that concerned himself, in all of which occidental feeling is conspicuous by its absence. He does not appear to have approved of any deliberate combination of the two forms of expression, and, if any painter did introduce anything of the West into his picture, it was so transformed--so Indianized in the process--that any sense of incongruity which might be expected from the loan is not ordinarily felt. This does not mean that the Mughal painters did not subconsciously absorb certain occidental qualities into their work. They could not have been in close contact with the art of the West, as many of them were, without such being the case, but anything that they did accept was a matter of careful selection, and so treated that it blended naturally with their own style. It will be realized that there is no discredit in such a system provided that what the artist borrows he does not neglect to make

¹ Roe, vol. ii, p. 477.

² Roe, vol. ii, p. 500, note.

really his own. There are many instances of great creative movements not only in art but in other spheres of culture, which have been dependent at some period of their evolution on foreign suggestion. It is true that most of them incurred the debt at the initial stage of their development, as the painting of Italy in its primitive period borrowed from Byzantine art, and Elizabethan literature drew upon the writers of Italy and France ; but an interchange of knowledge and experience may be made valuable at all times and seasons. On the other hand apparent similarities, especially in the graphic arts, between the productions of two different races should not be pushed too far. There have been times when it seems as if thought-waves were permeating the art world, independent of any actual material communication. For example, there is a strange affinity between the ' mental texture ', so to speak, of Japanese art in the fourteenth century and the art of the same period in Italy, although there could have been no real intercourse of any kind at such an early date. A further instance is that of the early Muhammadan architecture of India, which has the same rugged qualities and stern appearance as the Norman Gothic of England, while another is the resemblance between some of the ninth-century designs of Khotan and those of the Saxons. The explanation is that all these were the result of independent though similar processes of thought-evolution, and it is not improbable that much of the supposed European feeling in the painting of the Mughals is due to the same cause.

When the guiding hand of Jahangir was removed, a distinct increase in the influence of the West is observable in the painting under his successor, Shah Jahan. It does not appear that more European pictures came into the country in his reign—the Mughal emperor's tastes did not express themselves specially in this direction—but a favourable opening having been made by his predecessor, the interest in Western art was bound to progress. That he soon began to surround himself with examples of occidental painting is shown by the picture reproduced on Plate XXIV. In the frieze above his throne several winged figures and nimbed cherubim are to be seen, floating on clouds, a *motif* that became very common from now onwards, as we see it employed in a variety of ways in Mughal art. Other features of a like nature may be studied in the same picture, as for instance the naïve scene painted on the marble dado below the emperor, of the scales of justice, and the lion and the ox. But one of the most interesting details in this miniature, unfortunately not visible in the reduced plate, are the lower edges of two painted panels

projecting below the pearl-fringed canopy of the throne. Enough of these has been brought into view by the artist to enable us to identify these as pictures of Jesus and the Virgin. Nevertheless, Shah Jahan's patronage of painting being of a more moderate order than that of his predecessors, it did not encourage any European artist to travel out to India to practise his profession at the Mughal court. In fact the tide seems to have set against the employment of Western talent except in isolated instances, so that nearly two centuries elapse before another European painter arrives on the shores of India. But occidental elements in Mughal painting were propagated by other means. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century Shah Abbas II of Persia (1642-67), whose leanings towards Western culture were most marked, had dispatched from his capital a group of young Persians to study various subjects in some of the centres of learning in Europe. Among these was a painter, who proceeded to work for a considerable period at a studio in Rome. While there he became converted to Christianity, so that on his return he was compelled to leave Persia, and eventually to seek the protection of the Mughal. This painter was most probably Muhammad Zaman, whose work may be examined in three pictures in the British Museum copy of the *Khamsah*, Or. 2265, folios 203 b, 213 a, and 221 b. Manifestly occidental in character, they leave no doubt as to the course of study that the young Persian adopted; and if, as he appears to have done, he became a protégé of the Mughal emperor, the growth of the European element in the painting of Shah Jahan's reign is readily explained. The result of Muhammad Zaman's presence in Delhi and the influence of his occidental training on those around him may be observed in many of the pictures of the time of Shah Jahan, as for example in the borders of the portrait album produced under the supervision of Faqīrullāh Khān. On the upper part of the mount of most of these there is a design of flying angels on billowy clouds, with a background of rainbows and radiant suns, which, while fantastic in some respects, is not unconnected with the art of Raphael or his school.

So far we have dealt only with those features which have been extracted almost bodily from the art of the occident and given a place in the Mughal miniature. As distinct from these, however, there are the less obvious signs of European influence, such as the increase in the use of shadows, the employment of scientific linear and aerial perspective, and a different treatment of the landscape, all of which may be discerned in the later painting of the Mughals. Plates LXVI and LXVII, of pictures executed some time early in

the second half of the seventeenth century, will explain what was taking place. The former depicts a young prince with his attendants conversing with a priest, who from his appearance may be a Jain ; the background to the group is clearly inspired by a painting of a European landscape. While this portion of the picture may have been copied from a scene in the vicinity of an Indian city, for Christian churches were being built in several parts of the country at this time, the manner in which the artist has obtained his effect is occidental. Two painters have been employed on it, one of whom has been responsible for the figures, and another has added the background. At one time the class of work produced by the latter was sufficiently popular to give rise to a special name for this form of backgrounding, which became known as *dūr-numā* or 'distant scene'. Similar remarks apply to Plate LXVII, which shows a young priest expounding the Qur'an to another, while in front are two disciples. The landscape might have been copied from a picture of the school of Giorgione. A miniature of considerable interest but of a still later date, having been painted at Patna in Bihar towards the middle of the nineteenth century, is illustrated on Plate LXVIII. The subject is somewhat of an enigma ; and the inscriptions written by a Muhammadan, while the painting is the work of a Hindu, throw little additional light. It depicts three figures, one of whom may be a European priest, while the others are Indian devotees or saints. They are seen conversing under a tree in a locality which has been identified as near Patna, because the hill called Mathni is in the background. In front of the hill the artist has introduced the few crude appliances for distilling spirits, and a bottle and a cup are shown in the foreground. Its artistic charm lies in its rich liquid colouring, reminiscent of a French enamel of the sixteenth century.

During the reign of Aurangzeb it is doubtful whether the importation of European pictures into the Mughal's dominions was maintained in view of the antipathy that this ruler is credited with having displayed towards art generally. Nevertheless the influence of a foreign style is seen in the miniatures painted while he was on the throne, as may be observed in Plate XXX. In other parts of the country evidences of Portuguese artists being employed in decorating palaces with mural paintings are not wanting, as is proved by those on the walls at the Athār Mahal in Bijapur, much of the character of which is apparently European, although of a distinctly inferior quality. On the break-up of the Mughal court at Delhi, and the transfer of power to Lucknow and Hyderabad, the Mughal school, as we have seen, went to pieces, with the results that many examples

of a degraded art were produced. Among these were feeble imitations of Western pictures, as well as many other still more incongruous compositions so degenerate as not to merit the name of art, a state of affairs which continued with few exceptions throughout the eighteenth century. In 1772 there arrived in India probably the first English painter after Hatfield, the adventurous 'limner' whose experience at the court of Jahangir has already been recounted. His name was Tilly Kettle and he remained four years in Calcutta, but does not appear to have penetrated any farther into the country. He was followed by Hodges, Zoffany, Longcroft, and Home, all of whom came to India towards the end of the eighteenth century and practised their art in several of the larger cities. With their arrival the Western form of painting, which has been gradually gaining ground in India all these years, received a decided impetus, so much so that a considerable number of Indian artists began to copy the methods of the Europeans. They began to produce large oil paintings on canvas, generally uninspiring portraits of Indian noblemen, many of which may be seen in Oude, Southern India, and Bengal, to this day. None of these is of any merit, but they plainly show that the country was deserting its own artistic traditions, and that Indian painting had become merely a stagnant reflection of that of the West.

IX

METHODS AND MATERIALS

TO understand the methods by which the Indian painter produced his miniatures, it may be useful as a beginning to inquire into the manner in which he was first taught the rudiments of his craft—in other words, to view his course of training as an art student. After having seen him engaged in acquiring this preliminary part of his knowledge, we may then follow him through all the various stages of his work of painting a picture, noting the particular materials he uses and the different processes he adopts to secure his results. In this way the technical portion of his craft may become clear. We are fortunate in being able to describe in detail the traditional forms employed by the Mughal artists in instructing the aspiring student of art, as most of these have been preserved by their descendants. Painting was taught in the same way as wood-carving, sculpture, and metal-work, and all the other Indian art industries, by a modified application of the apprenticeship system. The craftsman passed his knowledge of the art on to his sons, or, failing these, the sons of a near relative, but rarely to any one who was not a member, however distant, of his own family. Under the Mughal rule when Akbar founded his school of painting such a method of course received little encouragement, and the caste or family system was for the time in abeyance. Instruction in art among the Indians began at an early age, almost as soon as the child could walk he was given a corner in the workshop where he could play with the implements and materials of his craft, and become accustomed to their shapes and uses. The care of tools and the preparation of his materials were his first lessons, and these were no meaningless exercises, for the sculptor employed his apprentices, however young, in sharpening his chisels and dressing his stones, while the painter utilized them in remaking his squirrel-hair brushes, burnishing his paper, or grinding his colours. When not thus engaged the student was expected to fill in time by copying out a graded series of patterns specially designed for his instruction. These patterns were, so to speak, the alphabet of his craft; and no student's education was complete until he had acquired a thorough proficiency in them. In this respect all arts were the same; each had

its series of traditional patterns on which the learner based his skill. And he was trained to become so conversant with these that he did not, except in the first instance, copy them from an original, but their names only would be communicated to him, and he would carve or draw them correctly, just as a child learns to write the letters of the alphabet by name and not from a copy or written example. For instance, the young wood-carver, after a little preliminary practice, would be expected to execute a specimen of the *kingrī* or *madākhāl*, the two initial patterns of his series, from memory, without any reference to the original. Other graded patterns would follow in their proper sequence, and no apprentice would be allowed to attempt the more difficult exercises until he was quite proficient in the preceding ones. The same system prevailed in all the artistic trades, although of course the patterns in each differed according to the nature of the materials employed.

In the details of this method of instruction there is a striking analogy to that employed in teaching spelling and writing. Each traditional design was regarded as a word, and each minor element of the design was extracted and practised separately like a letter out of the word. When the pupil was 'letter perfect' in each portion, the next step would be for him to combine these and so make up the finished design or 'word'. In a similar manner all knowledge was acquired in the East; by constant repetition the student's mind was saturated with the elements of his subject so that it became part of his nature. Classical writings and sacred books were memorized on somewhat the same mechanical system which is maintained in many oriental countries to the present day. One would anticipate that such a method, in art at least, would tend to crush all initiative, and would so deaden the inventive faculties that it would produce nothing better than a mere copying machine, a soulless creature dependent on the brains of his forefathers and relying in no sense on his own. That such is not the case, however, is proved by the high standard of the arts in the orient, as practically the same procedure for teaching the subject in India prevailed in Persia, Tibet, China, and Japan. It is no exaggeration to say that compared with the rigid and apparently mechanical system of art training that was customary in most countries of Asia for many centuries, the so-called South Kensington system in England is a model of flexibility. In the East, while genius in art counted for something, skilled manipulation counted for much more; what was regarded as the highest artistic qualification was not talent, or the faculty for understanding beauty, form, colour, or an appreciation of nature, but trained craftsmanship,

perfect control of the hand and eye, and to acquire this technical ability the artist was quite prepared to repeat the same series of exercises day after day and for several years with that deadly persistency in which the oriental alone excels.

In India under the Mughals the elementary training prescribed for the student of miniature painting was devised on the lines described above. Not all the courses were exactly the same ; they varied in some unimportant details according to the individual ideas of the master-painter, but the usual beginning was as follows. Provided with a brush (*qalam*) made of goat's hair, a small earthen saucer containing Indian ink (*siyāhī*), and a piece of coarse bamboo paper (*bhansī* or *basāhā*), the student proceeded to draw in brush outline the series of exercises illustrated on Plates LXIX and LXX. As already explained, the beginner devoted his whole time to the initial figure of the series and made himself thoroughly acquainted with this before he was allowed to pass on to the next. The complete series comprised twenty different figures, presumed to be graded according to their increasing difficulty, the first six of which are said to be of early Indian origin, the remainder being derived from Persia. At first sight the initial exercise, that of the spiral (*painchak*), appears to be a difficult introduction to the task which lay before the young student, but the Indian artist had already realized that the drawing of certain curves was easier than a straight 'right' line, and arranged his patterns accordingly. From the spiral the pupil passed to the triangle (*tribhuj*, No. 2), and from that to the square (*chaturbhuj*, No. 3), placed diagonally. Then came the essay on the drawing of a 'right' line, in the figure of the arrow (*tīr*, No. 4), which occupied two lessons ; for the pupil was first required to draw it from below upwards, and having mastered this, he was taught to draw the same figure beginning from above and carrying his brush downwards (No. 5). It is quite natural that after the arrow should come the bow (*kamān*, No. 6), with its combination of curve and straight line. The double curve of the bow was first drawn and the accuracy of this tested by the addition of the line representing the cord.

Up to this point the student has been working on those exercises which are the indigenous Indian contribution to the series ; he now continues with the course, but the remaining figures are supposed to be of Persian origin, introduced during Mughal times into the art teaching of India. The curves of the curious double fish (No. 7) are clearly an elaboration of the previous lesson, but the figure also marks the step from the inanimate to the animate object, a conventional design it is true, but it leads up to a series of drawings from

life with all the complications of movement that accompany the more advanced study. First of these is the horse (No. 8), followed by the elephant (No. 9); the latter was generally well drawn by the Indian artist, even the most elementary student being able to depict the characteristics of this familiar animal. The camel (No. 10) and the deer (No. 11) came next, and after these two birds (Nos. 12 and 13) with their more subtle lines and intricate plumage but clearly conventional creatures based on Chinese models. After the course from living objects the student made an excursion into the field of architecture (*'imārat*, No. 14), a useful practice as arcades and pavilions were frequently employed in the backgrounds of Indian pictures. Flower studies (*phūl*, Nos. 15, 16, 17) introduced him to the beauties of the garden, and he copied plant forms in the somewhat formal manner favoured by the Mughals. Then followed an exercise in geometrical tracery (*naqsh u nigār*, No. 18) to test his powers of spacing, and to acquaint him with the use of the rule and square, ending finally in studies of the human form (*insān*, Nos. 19 and 20), the most advanced figures of the whole series.

Such was the ordinary course of instruction to which the Mughal art student was expected to apply himself during the first years of his apprenticeship. When not engaged in this manner he was employed in learning all about the technical processes of the painters' craft. An early lesson in this branch of his training consisted in knowing how to smooth the rough surface of the paper, which he brought to an enamel-like condition by burnishing it with a piece of polished agate. On the surface thus prepared he learned to 'pounce' the outlines of pictures from a tracing (*khāka*) drawn on a thin transparent sheet of deer skin (*charba*). 'Pouncing' is the term employed by artists to describe the process of transferring a drawing on to the paper or material on which the picture is to be painted. To make a pouncing the original drawing is pricked with a sharp metal point into a series of minute pinholes all along the outlines. This forms a kind of outline stencil plate which is securely fixed over the surface of the paper on which the transfer is to be made (in the case of a mural painting it is attached to the surface of the wall). Through the pinholes finely powdered charcoal is dusted by means of a 'pouncer', as the small muslin bag is called in which it is contained. When the stencil is removed an exact replica of the original sketch is found on the surface underneath, formed by the charcoal dust passing through the pinholes. This dotted outline has to be gone over with a brush at once, otherwise it will be easily wiped off and disappear. The importance of being thoroughly

trained in this process is emphasized in the *Manāqib-i-Hunarvārān*,¹ a sixteenth-century Persian work dealing with the art of painting in general. Having set forth the methods employed by the artists, the author proceeds to describe the manner in which the desired dexterity in this branch of his craft is attained. 'After having made his transfer, the pupil begins to draw over the pounced charcoal lines. All the details of the original are now carefully observed and noted. This process of tracing is practised for several years until the hand of the pupil has become accustomed to the work. From this constant practice the details and characteristics of the various forms become fixed in his mind. When the course of study has arrived at this stage, the young artist is considered capable of tracing exactly all the figures that are required.' In the East the process here referred to was a very old one, pouncings have been unearthed in Eastern Turkestan which were used by mural painters as early as the eighth century of the present era. Most collections of Indian painting contain examples of these 'pouncing stencils', which are very careful drawings in black ink finely perforated along all the outlines, and discoloured from the frequent application of the charcoal dust.

There seems little doubt that one of the means by which the art of miniature painting was conveyed from Persia to India took the form of tracings. Paper stencils of famous Safavid pictures were brought to the Mughal court, and from these the Indian painters executed copies. The outlines and general design were fixed by the transfer, but the scheme of colouring was left very much to the taste of the copyist. Nevertheless the latter was helped not a little by a method devised by the tracer for conveying even the colour scheme to his brother artist however distant. On different parts of his tracing the former made small dabs of colour, each according to the local colour of the original, as for instance a red dab for the coat, green for the turban, and so on, so that the copyist would at least have a fair idea of the general scheme. Fig. 1 on Plate LXXI is a tracing of a portrait of the Amir Timur, which has been treated in this manner, the small marks of the colour being distinctly discernible in the reproduction. Occasionally transfers are forthcoming in which the colours, instead of being communicated by brush marks, are written in minute characters on the different parts of the drawing.

¹ *Manāqib-i-Hunarvārān*, or 'Biographies of Artists', by Mustapha Defteri, the poet, generally known as Ali-Effendi, written in 1587 during the reign of Sultan Murad III,

son of Selim II, at the request of Sa'd-uddin ibn Hasan-Jan. (Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, p. 6.)

In Rājput tracings this was more frequently done, the names of the pigments being inscribed in Hindi, which would be readily understood by the Indian craftsman.

In the preparation of his materials the Mughal painter displayed great care, the proof of which is observable in the fresh appearance of his pictures after the lapse of three hundred years. Most of these materials were the productions of his own hands, or manufactured under his direct supervision by his pupils. The paper on which he painted his miniature received particular attention, and was selected and adapted to the purpose with considerable knowledge and skill. At first this commodity was imported from Persia, but before long a factory was established at Sialkot in the Punjab, and paper named after that place became common, being still known as *Sialkoti* at the present time. But although serviceable for writing, for artistic purposes the Persian product was preferred, and papers designated *Irani* and *Ispahani* were mainly used by the early painters of the Mughal school. Good paper of a size suitable for painting was not easily obtained in Akbar's time, as we find artists were often forced to join several pieces together before even the small dimension required for their miniatures was attained. This joining was very skilfully performed, pieces being added at the sides or ends, thus avoiding any awkward juncture across the middle of the picture. The subsequent burnishing and priming of the surface prevented any of these joints being seen in the finished miniature. After a time other kinds of paper began to find favour with the artists, as the manufacture of this article became more general. These were prepared from three products: bamboo, from which a paper called *basāhā* or *bhansī* was obtained; jute, called *tāt*, hence the kind known as *tatahā*, and a quality made from cotton, *tāt*, which went by the name of *tūlat* paper. There was also a small quantity made from flax, which was referred to as *sannī*, while a few artists executed their work on a silk paper, *harīrī*, occasionally alluded to as *reshmī*, but this had the defect of cracking in the course of time. Pictures on silk itself are very rare indeed, and there exist only a few Mughal miniatures painted on vellum. Religious prejudices may partly account for the scarcity of the former, as some Muhammadans have an objection to being brought into contact with the products of the silkworm; and vellum, being prepared from the skin of calves, would on somewhat similar grounds not be acceptable to the Hindus. In the Hanna collection at Washington, U.S.A., however, there are a few Mughal miniatures painted on vellum, but few others are known. As the painters' art extended and the demand for paper

increased, other kinds came into use for pictures, and several places in India began to manufacture it. Daulatabad in the Deccan was one of these, and on the paper from this source paintings in the Deccani style were executed. Still farther south, and at a later date, what was called *Mughali* paper was preferred, evidently imported from Hindustan, but that used by the Mysore artists was a local production known as *kardey*. No one of these papers was white, most of them being a light buff tint.

Having selected one of the qualities of paper that suited his purpose, this would be handed over to a pupil to be burnished with the piece of agate already referred to. While the apprentice was engaged in preparing the surface, the master painter would sketch out roughly his design on an inferior piece of paper preparatory to handing it over to another pupil to be traced. The preliminary sketch was made with a piece of charcoal or specially prepared pencil called among Indian artists a *lekhnī*. One of the *śilpas*, or ancient treatises on the traditional practices of the Hindus, states that the latter was made as follows. Indian red (*gairīkā*) was ground fine, and combined with dried cow-dung. To this mixture gum and water were added, the whole being worked into a paste and rolled into sticks, which could be used like pencils when dried. It seems most likely that the *lekhnī* was employed by the mural decorator, for the miniature painter would no doubt prefer sticks of charcoal as being more suitable to his medium. The first outline on the surface of the burnished paper was always made with Indian red (*gairīkā*), which being unmixed with any gum or similar adhesive could be easily removed if any alterations were required. Over the lines of his preliminary sketch in red the painter made his more finished drawing by means of a black outline, which deviated here and there from his original red sketch wherever he thought this might be improved. A sketch showing the two outlines, one correcting the other in places, is given on Plate LXXI, Fig. 2. The drawing in the black colour was a fixture as the pigment was mixed with gum, so that any alteration to this had to be made by obliterating it with white paint. Black was an important colour in Persian and Mughal pictures, as it was used not only for the purposes of outline drawing, but it occasionally acted as a striking note in the colour scheme, some portions of the picture, a horse, a piece of decoration, or a garment, being painted a brilliant black. Two qualities of this pigment were known to the Mughals. One mixture was called *siyāhī* and used for painting, and the other, a somewhat different preparation employed only in writing, was called *mustafā'ī roshnā'ī*. The latter is

said to have been invented by a famous Muhammadan calligraphist of the name of Mustafa, and consisted of the same black pigment as that in the artist's palette except that it was mixed with the juice of 'harrā and āmlā' (*Terminalia Chebula* and *Phyllanthus Emblica*). This black pigment was the soot deposited when burning mustard oil (*tīl-tel*), an extract of the *Sesamum indicum*. A small *chirāgh* or lamp, like a saucer with a rudimentary spout, was filled with the oil, which was lit by means of a cotton wick. A foot over the light a bell-shaped earthenware receptacle (*ghant*) was suspended in which the soot was allowed to collect. When sufficient was deposited in the *ghant* it was very carefully mixed with gum arabic and thus converted into *siyāhī* or Indian ink. There were elaborations of the process, and the Indian artists relate that the painters of China came to India to learn how to prepare it, since when it was also known as Chinese ink.

The fine black outline seen in many of the Mughal miniatures was obtained by means of the *siyāhī* described above. Much of the quality of this line was due to the care exercised in the preparation of this black pigment, but not a little of it also depended on the fineness of the brushes (*qalam*). The finest of all, by which most of the miniature painting was done, were made from the downy hairs on the tails of young grey squirrels—the *galairi*, a little family of whom make their home in almost every roadside tree in the Punjab. Prevented by his religion from taking life, the Indian painter released the squirrel after removing its tail, a small bundle of the latter being always kept among his implements for use as required. Large brushes for coarse work were made from the hair inside the ears of calves, while those of a medium size were obtained from the hairs on the underside of the goat, and also from the mongoose. The black outline having been correctly drawn on the burnished surface of his paper, the picture was then ready for the colour. What is known among European artists as *tempera* was the process by which the Mughal painter executed his miniature. It is so named because the pigments are *tempered*, that is, mixed and diluted with a 'medium', or, as it is sometimes called, a 'vehicle'. Nevertheless the designation *tempera*, which is derived from the Italian, admits of the widest application, but *gouache*, the French studio word, also practically describes the Mughal technique. The process of tempering brings the pigments to the correct consistency for painting, as well as causing them to adhere to the surface of the paper. Gum arabic was the basis of the medium usually employed by the Mughals, but a preparation of glue was sometimes used, and occasionally the resin

of the *nim* tree (*Melia Azadirachta*). The glue (*vajra-lepa* or *sares*) was made from freshly shredded buffalo hide boiled in water until it assumed the consistency of butter. It was then rolled into balls and dried to preserve it; when required it was dissolved in hot water. Some of the painters preferred fish glue prepared in a similar manner. Two kinds of gum arabic were in request, a fine quality in crystals called *babūl* which was mixed with the colours, and a coarser grade known as *katīla* and used for priming the surface ready for the painting. To prepare the medium the gum was mixed with a little sugar, water was added, and the whole boiled.

When the Mughal artist began the actual painting he first applied a thin coat of white colour over the entire surface of the paper; through this the black outline drawing already described was faintly visible. This outline under the white priming served as a guide to the artist in the next stage of *rang āmezī* or colouring. He began this by painting in those parts of his picture which required the secondary or mixed colours, following with the white, and after that the yellows, or *gul pumbah*. Any combinations of red (*gulābī*) were then added, and the whole was outlined, while the last process of all was the application of the gold. The outlining was sometimes done throughout in a dark neutral tint, but many of the Akbari artists demarcated each colour with a much lower shade of the same pigment, a deep red outline for pink, indigo or ultramarine for blue, and so forth. Painting in the gold was a delicate operation, the preparation of the material for this purpose requiring considerable skill. Gold leaf was first obtained by beating out the metal in the usual manner. Fragments of the leaf were then pounded with sand in a mortar until the whole formed a fine dust. The sand was removed by washing, and the gold was made ready to be applied to the paper by the addition of glue. When it was quite dry on the picture it was burnished with the tusk of a boar. All these processes of the painting having been completed it was customary to burnish the whole of it again, but this time the miniature was laid face downwards on a smooth surface, and the polished agate applied only to the reverse side of the paper. No final coat of varnish was used as has been described by some writers, this mistake having probably arisen from the fact that it was always applied over the painting on papier mâché, which was really a separate craft, although similar in some respects to the art of miniature painting.

The foregoing describes the ordinary method by which the Mughal painter obtained his results, but that there were frequent variations of the process goes without saying. In sketching, especially in portraiture, the first white priming was often omitted,

the painting being executed directly on the surface of the paper. One style of painting, known as *garah*, practised more in the later stages of the art, consisted in encrusting parts of the picture with real seed pearls, and flakes of precious stones, similar to the *nouches* of the fourteenth-century Italian pictures, such embellishments being applied to the head ornaments, draperies, and other ornamental accessories. Water, without the addition of colour, was used for some purposes, a method referred to as *ābina*. For instance, a sketch would be drawn in with a brush charged with water only, which when dry would leave a watermark impression as a guide for the subsequent painting. Another very delicate effect is said to have been obtained by the Kashmiri painters. They allowed water to stand until it had completely evaporated, leaving a slight sediment, which they used as a background tint to the profile of a portrait, as it left a faint but charming contrast of tone between the flesh colour and the ground. Many of the Indian pigments were extracts of minerals, but some were of a vegetable origin. In the early Safavid and Mughal pictures the deep strong blue was undoubtedly azurite, a natural ore of copper obtained from a 'pocket' which existed in Hungary in possession of the Turks during the fifteenth century. After a time this deposit was worked out, and its place was then taken in the later miniatures by a lapis lazuli (*lājward*) imported from Badakshan, now in Afghan territory. Indigo (*nīl*), a local vegetable product, found a place among the blues in the Indian painter's palette, while of reds he had a wide range, two of the most useful being red ochre (*gerū*) and Indian red (*hurmachī*), both of which are extracted from oxide of iron found plentifully in the neighbourhood of Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. Lake was prepared from lac, the product of the insect responsible for shellac, too well known to need description. Cochineal was also the basis of one of the reds after its discovery in the year 1518, but before then *kirmīs*, a pigment obtained from the *Coccus indicus* or *ilicis*, an insect found in Persia, was used.¹ But the red par excellence of the painters of the Middle East, and one which figures prominently in most of the pictures of the Timurid, Safavid, and Mughal schools, is vermillion, a crude cinnabar or sulphide of mercury known as *shangarf*. Among the yellows were chrome and ochre, the last named being made from a soft saponaceous earth found near Multan in the Punjab, hence the common name for it is *Multanī mittī*. The well-known Indian yellow (*peorī*) is euxanthionate of magnesium, and orpiment (*hartāl*) is a sulphide of arsenic, while one of his yellows the Indian painter extracted from the flowers of the *dhāk* (*Butea frondosa*)

¹ *H. F. A.*, p. 462. Also *Burlington Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 144.

and called *naqli peori*. Of the greens a charming tint was obtained from verdigris, known as *jangal* or *zangār*, but a darker tone used in backgrounds, and called *vassī*, was obtained by blending indigo with orpiment, while in a somewhat similar manner a water-melon green was produced designated *tarbūzī*. What the painter referred to as *mūng* green was also a favourite colour extracted from the *mūng* (*Phaseolus Mungo*), and he did on occasion introduce a very charming terre verte (*sang sabz*), a silicate of ferrous oxide. A purple was the result of mixing vermilion and indigo, but the artist could get a still darker effect specially suitable for outlining by a combination of lampblack and *hormuzi*, the latter a brownish ochre found on the island of Hormuz, in the Persian Gulf. The white was a white lead, or cerusite, imported from Kashgar in Eastern Turkestan, while the gold was washed from a variety of places in India or the neighbouring countries. It was not obtained from Panna in Central India as is sometimes stated, the soil of that state being in no sense auriferous.

The artist having finished his picture or *taswīr* by means of the process and materials described above, there still remained much to be done before the miniature was considered quite complete. The *taswīr* was only the central panel of the work; added to this there were the mounting and the border-designing besides several other details, each of which required the services of a separate expert. We have already seen that on occasion as many as two and sometimes even three artists, or *musavvirs*, co-operated on the *taswīr* alone, and for the rest of the work a similar number of craftsmen was required. These were the *vasligar*, or mounter, the *naqshanavis*, who painted the pattern on the mount; and, if the reverse of the miniature was to display a specimen of calligraphy, as was very often the case, there was the skilled writer, or *khushnavis*. To ensure that all these processes were properly carried out the usual procedure was as follows. The *taswīr*, having been painted on a thin irregular-shaped piece of paper, was first handed over to the *vasligar* to be trimmed, and mounted on a stouter card. It will be noticed that many miniatures are not in the centre of the mount but slightly to one side, a custom derived from the Persian book-illustrations, which, being bound in a book, were placed in this position. Many Mughal pictures were intended to be bound in a *muraqqa'*, a kind of album or scrap-book, so that they were also mounted on one side by the *vasligar* with this object in view. The mounted picture was then taken to the *naqshanavis*, who painted on it the *hāshiya*, or border. As the border of a miniature was designed on a system of prearranged lines and spaces, and was an important part of the work of art as a whole, it merits description. Immediately adjoining the central panel, or

taswir, is a narrow band contained between black and white ruled lines. The lines were called by some *jadal* and by others *khat*, while the narrow band which was usually decorated with a running pattern of flowers and leaves was known as *bail*. If, however, the band was ornamented with detached flowers repeated at intervals, it went by the name of *phulkārī*, or flower pattern. The remaining portion of the mount, or *hāshiyā*, was embellished by means of a variety of designs each of which has its special character and name. One of the simplest and most effective was a process of fine powdering with gold called *ghubāra*; when the gold was more coarsely distributed it was referred to as *shafaq*. Such patterns were obtained in two ways, either by 'spluttering' on the gold paint while wet from the bristles of a stiff brush, or by coating the surface of the mount with a wash of rice-water, and then powdering the gold on from a pouncing bag. A pattern which consisted of larger patches of gold sprinkled irregularly over the ground was known as *tikā* from the name of the caste mark seen on the foreheads of most Hindus. The foregoing are the simpler methods of decorating the *hāshiyā*, but a more elaborate scheme is the *tarah*, a device of ornamented scrolls like arabesques painted in flat brush forms of gold, as shown in the border of the picture on Plate XXI. But the most highly embellished mount of all was that which first made its appearance in the reign of Jahangir, afterwards to become a common feature in the miniatures executed under Shah Jahan. This is the *jhār*, a combination of floral forms of which the border shown in Plate LIII is a notable example.

Indian collectors as a rule kept their pictures in a *muraqqa'*, or album, so that instead of leaving the reverse side of the miniature plain, a condition which is never satisfying to the Indian mind, it became customary to decorate these with some form of the painters' or writers' art, usually a combination of the two. Plate LXXII shows one method of treating the back of a miniature which was not uncommon in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is what is known as a *qit'a*, or example of elegant writing and illumination, the actual calligraphy in this picture being from the pen of Mir Ali of Herat, a celebrated *kātib* who died in 1558-9. But while the writing is good, the embellishment around it is equally fine, the colour scheme being blue, apple-green, Indian red, yellow, and gold, all arranged in the most effective manner. The minute handling in all these paintings was of course largely a matter of expert training, but added to this the eyesight that allowed such delicate detail to be introduced into the design must have been a remarkable gift. Much of the work of the school, even of this fine character, was done without

any magnifying appliances, although in the seventeenth century the artists were using spectacles as some of the portraits of the Persian miniaturists prove. When the miniature collector could not afford to have the reverse of his picture decorated with such an expensive design as the one here illustrated, he ordered the mounter to add something of a simpler nature, which the *vaslīgar* was always ready to do. For this craftsman had a selection of designs which he could place on the back of the picture, many of them appropriate to the subject on the front. If the latter depicted a love scene (*dillā*), or any happy event, he painted in the middle of the reverse side a spray of maidenhair (*sambal*), saffron (*kaisar*), or passion flower (*kurnphul*), while if the subject was a sad one or a departure, he introduced a poppy flower (*gul lāla*), or prickly pear (*nāgphanī*).

It has been shown that the two broad divisions into which the Indian miniatures resolve themselves are the Rājput and Mughal—the Hindu and Muhammadan forms of expression respectively. Indian connoisseurs have further referred these into a number of subdivisions or styles known in the vernacular as *qalams*. A literal translation of the word *qalam* is a reed pen, but used in connexion with painting it signifies a brush. The indigenous classification is therefore founded mainly on the technique of the painting—the actual brush-work—although it also has a geographical basis. For while one of the most popular *qalams* or styles is known as the *siyāhī qalam*, a name derived from and denoting its black outline, other miniatures are referred to as Delhi, Jaipur, Patna, &c., according to the art-centre from which they emanated. The *qalams* are in certain respects analogous to the regional dialects of a language, with just the subtle differences that enable those who know that language to distinguish one from the other. And, as one approved literary form of a language may be regarded as the standard speech of a people, so the Delhi *qalam* was the standard style of Mughal painting—the classical form of the art. But while Delhi came to be looked on as the fountain head of the Mughal school of painting, mainly because that city was the political capital of the Mughal empire, after a time other styles began to emerge. A full list of all the Indian *qalams* both Rājput and Mughal is here appended.

Rājput.

- (1) Jaipur.
- (2) Kangra.
- (3) Nathdwara.

Main qalams.

- (1) Irani.
- (2) Delhi.
- (3) *Siyāhī*.

Mughal.

Subsidiary qalams.

- (4) Hyderabadī or Deccanī.
- (5) Murshidabadī.
- (6) Kashmirī.
- (7) Lucknow.
- (8) Patna.

Of the three main *qalams* of the Mughals the Delhi *qalam* is the one in which the majority of pictures were painted, and it represents the imperial development of the art, the other styles in comparison being really provincial. It does not follow, however, that all the pictures in the Delhi *qalam* were painted at the Mughal capital, but the name indicates that they were painted in the manner approved by the court, whether it was situated at Delhi, Agra, Ajmere, Mandu, Fathpur Sikri, or Lahore. Although Delhi has been regarded as the capital of Hindustan, as a residence this city did not attract the Mughal emperors until Shah Jahan built and occupied the palace fort there in 1648. Akbar preferred Agra and its environs, while Jahangir, whose restless spirit allowed him no continuous abode, usually had his head-quarters at Lahore. But the official artists, who worked under the aegis of the throne, set the fashion in the style of painting, and they formed part of the royal entourage, wherever this was maintained.

The Irani *qalam*, or style of Iran (Persia), needs little explanation, and will be readily recognized as connected with those Mughal pictures which show direct Persian influence, or were painted after the Safavid manner. Not only many of the early pictures but a number of those of a later date show that the Persian influence persisted right through the history of the Mughal school. The *siyāhī qalam* takes its name from the fact that it signifies a picture executed in a black or ink (*siyāhī*) outline, little or no colour being introduced. It is said to have been a style brought direct from Persia; a good example may be studied on Plate VIII, Fig. 1. It found considerable favour with the Mughal artists, some of their finest work, especially their portraiture, being drawn in this *qalam*. A black colour was generally used, but a dark sepia is not uncommon, and sometimes a few touches of gold were added to heighten the effect, but the idea of the *siyāhī qalam* is to show the artist's command of pure line. Of the subsidiary *qalams*, which have been already referred to as provincial developments of the Delhi *qalam*, a very brief account is necessary, as they mainly represent the Mughal school after its best period. They were the result of the migrations of the artists to various cities where they thought patronage of their craft might be found after the Mughal court had begun to decline. Such migrations produced the purely local styles of Murshidabad and Patna, which had a fleeting reputation within the first half of the nineteenth century. Each of these *qalams* had its own character, the Patna style although hard in feeling was quite good in technique, because the original progenitor of this small community had been

a skilful exponent of the old Delhi school. The Lucknow *qalam* which flourished at the court of Oude during the early years of the nineteenth century displays Mughal art at its worst and merits no special mention. In the Deccan at Hyderabad a few artists seem to have settled and produced a form of painting very much akin to the Delhi *qalam*, but rather more minute in its technique and smaller in handling generally. It is of little interest except that it probably afforded the connecting link between the Mughal school and the southern Indian developments which have been described in a previous chapter. The Kashmiri *qalam* is a somewhat elusive style of painting, a slightly spiritless imitation of the Delhi work, showing good drawing and colouring but a lack of vigour and character when compared with the best Mughal painting.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PAINTERS OF THE MUGHAL SCHOOL TOGETHER WITH THEIR PRINCIPAL WORKS

(IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

THE following are the names of many of the artists who executed pictures under the Mughal emperors. The list is as complete as possible, but other names will be forthcoming as the works of the school become known. The abbreviations and references are explained as follows. Where the name is followed by the letter (M.), the painter is a Muhammadan. Where no letter in brackets follows the artist is a Hindu. The letters (J.) or (S.J.) signify that the artist worked under Jahangir, or Shah Jahan respectively. Where no reference of this kind is added the artist worked under Akbar. The word *A'in*, following the name, indicates that the artist is in the list given in the *A'in-i-Akbari*, and therefore one of the leading painters at Akbar's court. After some of the artists' names are added the words, *Kalān*, which means the senior or elder; *Khurd*, indicating that the painter is the younger; and also the word *Chela*. The last may be literally translated as slave, servant, or disciple, and means that he was a pupil of the artist whose name is given. The remaining abbreviations refer to the illustrated books or collections in which the artist's work figures. These are as follows:

- Bank. Tim. *Timūrnāma*, Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, India.
 B.M. Bab. *Bāburnāma* (Babur's Memoirs, Or. 3714), British Museum, London.
 B.M. Dārāb. *Dārābnāma* (stories from the *Shāhnāma*, Or. 4615), British Museum, London.
 Bod. Bah. *Bahāristān* (Elliott, 254), Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 Cal. Art Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, India.
 D.P. Niz. *Nizāmt's Khamsah*, Collection of C. W. Dyson Perrins, Esq., Davenham, Malvern.
 I.O.L. John. Johnson Collection, India Office Library, Whitehall, London.
 J. Razm. *Razmnāma*, State Library, Jaipur, Rajputana, India.
 Ram. State Library, Rampur State, United Provinces, India.
 S.K. Akb. *Akbarnāma*, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.
 S.K. Bab. *Bāburnāma* (I.M., 262, 1913), Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.
 Wan. Wantage Collection, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London.
- 'Abdullāh; B.M. Bab. uz-Zamān; I.O.L. John., vol. lxvii, fol. 7.
 'Abdus Samad, Sayyid; (M.); A'in | Abu Samad, Sayyid; (M.); A'in; B.M.
 B.M. Dārāb.; D.P. Niz.; Bodleian | Dārāb.; D.P. Niz.; Bodleian Library,
 Library, Ouseley Add. 172, fol. 4. | Ouseley Add. 172, fol. 4.
 Abu'l-Hasan; (M.); referred to in Jahan- | Aḥmad; (M.); Bod. Bah.
 gir's *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 20, as Nādir

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Alam ; (M.) ; Wan.

'Alī, Ghulām (see Ghulām 'Alī).

'Alī, Mīr Sayyid ; (M.) ; A'in ; B.M. Or. 2265, fol. 157.

'Alī, son of Mukhlis ; (M.) ; Bank. Tim.

Anant (brother of Miskīn, q. v.) ; S.K. Akb. ; J. Razm. ; Bank. Tim.

Anūp Chhatar ; Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 173, fol. 26.

Āqā Rizā ; (M.) ; referred to in Jahangir's *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 20.

Āsī ; J. Razm. ; S.K. Akb. ; Bank. Tim.

Bābū ; J. Razm.

Bābū Ustād ; Bod. Bah.

Bālchand ; Wan. ; Bod. Bah. ; B.M. Or. 1362.

Bālchand awal ; B.M. Or. 1362.

Bandī (also Bundī) ; S.K. Akb. ; Bank. Tim.

Bānū, Ṣaḥīfah (see Ṣaḥīfah Bānū).

Banwālī ; Bank. Tim.

Banwārī (also Banwālī) Kalān ; B.M. Bab. ; B.M. Dārāb. ; S.K. Akb. ; J. Razm. ; Bank. Tim.

Banwārī (also Banwālī) Khurd ; B.M. Bab. ; S.K. Akb. ; Bank. Tim.

Basāwan ; A'in ; B.M. Dārāb. ; J. Razm. ; S.K. Akb. ; Bod. Bah. ; B.M. Or. 1362 ; B.M. Gren. ; Or. 7573 ; S.K. Bab. (?)

Bhagwān ; B.M. Dārāb. ; B.M. Bab. ; S.K. Akb. ; J. Razm. ; Bank. Tim.

Bhagwatī ; picture of Humayun in B.M. Or. 18801, fol. 42 ; also a painting in a *Shāhnāma* in the B.M. Add. 5600.

Bhawānī ; B.M. Bab. (good) ; S.K. Akb.

Bhawānī Kalān ; Bank. Tim.

Bhīm Gujarātī ; B.M. Bab. ; D.P. Niz. ; Bank. Tim.

Bhūrah ; B.M. Dārāb. ; B.M. Bab. ; S.K. Akb. ; D.P. Niz. ; Bank. Tim. ; J. Razm.

Bishandās ; referred to in Jahangir's *Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 116, 117 ; S.K. Bab. ; Boston Museum ; Tagore collection, Calcutta.

Chatarbhuj (also Chatar) ; B.M. Dārāb. ; S.K. Akb. ; J. Razm.

Chatarmunī, alias Kalyān Dās, also Chitarman ; S.K. Akb. ; Bank. Tim. ; I.O.L. John., vols. xix and xxiv.

Chatesh (?) ; B.M. Bab.

Chatra ; Bank. Tim.

Chatter Chat (?) ; Bodleian Library, MS. Douce, Or. C. 4.

Chitarman (see Chatarmunī).

Darkah (?) ; B.M. Dārāb.

Daswanth ; A'in ; J. Razm. ; Bank. Tim.

Daulat ; Wan. ; D.P. Niz. ; B.M. Or. 1362.

Deo ; Bank. Tim.

Devajī of Gujarāt ; S.K. Bab. ; Bank. Tim.

Dhannū ; B.M. Bab. (good) ; B.M. Dārāb. ; Bank. Tim.

Dhanrāj ; B.M. Bab. (good).

Dharam Dās ; B.M. Dārāb. ; D.P. Niz. ; S.K. Akb. ; Bank. Tim.

Durgā ; S.K. Akb. ; S.K. Bab.

Emad, or Imad ; (M.) ; Bod. Bah.

Faqīrullāh (see Muhammad Faqīrullāh Khān).

Farrukh Beg ; (M.) ; A'in ; S.K. Akb. ; Wan. (?) ; collection of M. Vever, Paris.

Farrukh Chela ; (M.) ; B.M. Bab. ; B.M. Dārāb. ; D.P. Niz. ; J. Razm. ; Bank. Tim.

Farrukh Kalān ; (M.) ; Bank. Tim.

Farrukh Khurd ; (M.) ; B.M. Dārāb.

Fateh Chand ; Ram.

Ghulām 'Alī ; (M.) ; J. Razm. ; also 'elephant' picture, Cal.

Ghulām Ikhlās ; (M.) ; Bod. MS. Ouseley Add. 173, fol. 18 (probably Ikhlās, q. v.).

Gobind ; B.M. Bab.

Gobind Shankar ; I.O.L. John., vol. xlii.

Govardhan ; B.M. Bab. (good) ; B.M. Or. 18801, folios 3, 31.

Gujarātī Bhīm (see Bhīm Gujarātī).

Gujarātī Kesu (see Kesu Gujarātī).

Gujarātī Shankar (see Shankar Gujarātī).

Gujarātī Sur (see Sur Gujarātī).

Gujarātī Suraj (see Suraj Gujarātī).

Gulāb Rai ; I.O.L. John., vol. xxiv, fol. 10.

Gwaliorī, Nand (see Nand Gwaliorī).

Gyān Chand ; I.O.L. John., vol. xxii, fol. 5.

Haidār Kashmīrī ; (M.) ; Bank. Tim.

Harībans ; A'in ; Bank. Tim. ; B.M. Bab. (good) ; B.M. Dārāb.

Hasan (see Mīr Hasan).

Hasan, Mīr (see Mīr Hasan).

Hāshim (see Mīr Hāshim).

Hūnhār; (S.J.); collection of W. Rothenstein, S.K., London; I.O.L. John., vol. xxiv, fol. 1.

Husain; (M.); Bod. Bah.

Husain Naqqāsh; (M.); B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Ibrāhīm Kahār; (M.); B.M. Bab. (good); B.M. Dārāb.

Ibrāhīm Kashmīrī; (M.); B.M. Dārāb.

Ibrāhīm Lāhōrī; (M.); B.M. Dārāb.

Ikbāl; (M.); B.M. Dārāb.

Ikhlas; S.K. Akb.; Bod. Bah.

'Ināyat Ullāh, Sayyid; (M.); Rothschild collection, Paris; Wan.

Ishar; Bank. Tim.

Jagan or Jagannāth; A'in; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; D.P. Niz.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Jag Jiwan; Bank. Tim.

Jag Jiwan Kalān; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Jamshīd Chela; B.M. Bab.

jaswanth, probably Daswanth; J. Razm.

Kāhar, Ibrāhīm (see Ibrāhīm Kahār).

Kalū Lāhōrī; B.M. Dārāb.

Kalyan Das (see Chatarmuni).

Kamāl Kashmīrī; Bank. Tim.

Kanak Singh Chela; D.P. Niz.; Bank. Tim.

Kānhā; B.M. Dārāb.; J. Razm.

Karmakhand; B.M. Dārāb.

Kashmīrī Haidar (see Haidar Kashmīrī).

Kashmīrī Ibrahim (see Ibrāhīm Kashmīrī).

Kashmīrī Kamāl (see Kamāl Kashmīrī).

Kashmīrī Muhammad (see Muhammad Kashmīrī).

Kashmīrī Ya'qūb (see Ya'qūb Kashmīrī).

Kesu (also Kaisu, and Kesava-dāsa); A'in; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Kesu Gujarātī; B.M. Bab.

Kesu Kahār; B.M. Dārāb.; Bank. Tim.

Kesu Kalān; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Kesu Khurd; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Khānrawān; a picture signed by this painter is reproduced in Sarre and Martin's *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich 1912 (Pl. 38).

Khem Karan; A'in; B.M. Bab.; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; D.P. Niz.; Bod. Bah.; Bank. Tim.; J. Razm.; B.M. Or. 1362.

Khīman or Kahmin (see Khunan).

Khizr (?); Bod. Bah.

Khunan, Sangtarash, or the stone carver; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Khusrau Qulī; B.M. Bab.

Khwāja 'Abdus Samad (see 'Abdus Samad).

Lab; J. Razm.

Lāhōrī Ibrāhīm (see Ibrāhīm Lāhōrī).

Lāhōrī Kalū (see Kalū Lāhōrī).

Lāl; A'in; S.K. Akb.; S.K. Bab.; Bod. Bah.; D.P. Niz.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Lek Rāj; Ram.

Lūmankā (?); Bank. Tim.

Mādho (also Mādho Khanazād); A'in; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; S.K. Bab.; Bod. Bah.; D.P. Niz.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.; B.M. Or. 1362; mentioned in Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī (753) as in the service of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, Khān Khānān, Akbar's commander-in-chief.

Mādho Kalān; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Mādho Khurd; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Mahārāj Kalān (?); Bank. Tim.

Mahesh; B.M. Bab. (good).

Mah Muhammad; (M.); S.K. Akb.

Maklas (see Mukhlis).

Makrā; B.M. Bab.

Manī; B.M. Bab.; B.M. Dārāb.; J. Razm.

Manohar; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; Wan.; D.P. Niz.; Bank. Tim.; I.O.L. John., vol. iii, fol. 1; Ram.

Mansūr, also Mansūr Naqqāsh; (M.); B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; Wan.; B.M. Stowe, Or. 16.

Mehr Chand; I.O.L. John., vol. xl, fol. 1.

Mīr Hasan; (M.); B.M. Bab. (very good).

Mīr Hāshim; (M.); Wan.; Demotte collection, Paris.

Mīr Muhammad; I.O.L. John., vol. lviii, fol. 21.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī (see 'Alī Mīr Sayyid).

Miskīn; (M.); A'in; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; S.K. Bab.; Bod. Bah.; D.P. Niz.; Bank. Tim.; J. Razm.

Mohan Shankar; I.O.L. John., vols. xxxiv and lviii.

Mohesh; A'in; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab. (very good); S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.

Muhammad 'Ābid; (M.); Ram.

198 LIST OF PAINTERS OF THE MUGHAL SCHOOL

Muhammad Faqīrullāh Khān, also Muhammad Khān; (M.); S.J.; I.O.L. album of Prince Dara Shikoh, fol. 21b; I.O.L. John., vol. xvii, fol. 3; Bod. MS. Ouseley Add. 170.

Muhammad Kashmīrī; (M.); Bank. Tim.

Muhammad Murād of Samarqand; (M.).

Muhammad Nādir of Samarqand; (M.); eight pictures in B.M. Or. 18801.

Muhammad Sharif; (M.); J. Razm.

Muhammad Yūsuf; Cal. No. 554.

Mukhlis, or Maklas; (M.); B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; Bod. Bah.; Bank. Tim.

Mukhlis 'Alī (see 'Alī, son of Mukhlis).

Mukund; A'in; S.K. Akb.; S.K. Bab.; Bod. Bah.; D.P. Niz.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Muthrā; B.M. Dārāb.; Bank. Tim.

Nādir-buland-iqbāl; (M.).

Nādir Muhammad (see Muhammad Nādir of Samarqand).

Nādir uz-Zamān; (M.); I.O.L. John., vol. lxvii; see Jahangir's *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 20; also Abu'l-Hasan.

Nainān; Bank. Tim.

Nānā (see Nānhā).

Nand Gwaliorī; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; D.P. Niz.; Bank. Tim.

Nānhā; B.M. Dārāb. (fol. 24, good); S.K. Akb.; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Bab.; D.P. Niz.; Bank. Tim.

Nanwa; J. Razm.

Narāyan; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Nar Singh; S.K. Akb.; D.P. Niz.

Paramjiv Gujarātī; Bank. Tim.

Paras; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Paras Kahār; B.M. Dārāb.

Parmeho (?), probably Paramjiv; J. Razm.

Pidārath; B.M. Bab.; Wan.

Qabūl Ahmad; (M.); S.K. Akb.

Qalmak, Farrukh Beg (see Farrukh Beg).

Qāsim; (M.); B.M. Or. 5600; see *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, by Binyon and Arnold, Plate VII.

Rām; A'in; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Rāmdās; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; S.K. Bab.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Rām Sahai; I.O.L. John., vol. lxiv.

Rao Gobind Singh; I.O.L. John., vol. xxi, fol. 8.

Shāhīfah Bānū (lady artist); Wan.

Sāhū; Bank. Tim.

Sain Dās; Bod. Bah.

Samad, Sayyid Abu (see Abu Samad, Sayyid).

Samand; picture of Shan Jahan in the collection of H.H. the Maharaja of Benares, India.

Sānwlah, or Sānwāl Das (see V. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 118); A'in; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; D.P. Niz.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Sarjan; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab.

Sarun, also Sarwan; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Sayyid 'Ināyat Ullāh (see 'Ināyat Ullāh, Sayyid).

Selman (?); Bod. Bah.

Shāh Muhammad; (M.); Bank. Tim.

Sham, or Shiyam (?); B.M. Bab. (good).

Shankar Gujarātī; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.; I.O.L. John., vol. xxiv.

Sheodās (Shiv Dās); B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab.; Wan.

Sharif, Muhammad (see Muhammad Sharif).

Simāb Khan; Ram.

Sing, Nar (see Nar Singh).

Sukhjiwan; J. Razm.

Sūra, also Sūr; Bank. Tim.

Sūraj; Bank. Tim.

Sūraj Gujarātī; Bank. Tim.

Sūr Dās, son of Ishar; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Sūr Gujarātī; B.M. Bab.

Surjan; Bank. Tim.

Talūk; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab.

Tārā, Tārā Chand (see V. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 118); A'in; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Or. 1362; S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.

Thirpāl; B.M. Bab. (good).

Tiriyyā; B.M. Dārāb.; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.

Tulsī; B.M. Bab. (good); S.K. Akb.; J. Razm.; Bank. Tim.

Tulsī Kalān; B.M. Dārāb.; S.K. Akb.; Bank. Tim.

Tulsī Khurd; B.M. Bab.; S.K. Akb.

Ya'qūb Kashmīrī; (M.); S.K. Bab.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF COLLECTIONS OF INDIAN PICTURES

(IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

THERE are many collections of Indian pictures, public and private, where the original works of the Mughal artists may be studied. The following list, necessarily incomplete, because private collections often change hands, and are sometimes sold or dispersed without any special notice, may, however, be a guide to any student who desires to make himself acquainted with actual examples of the art.

Collections in Public or State Institutions :

America :

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Chicago, Field Columbian Museum.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Washington, National Museum.

Europe :

Berlin, Ethnographical Museum.
" Staats-Bibliothek.
" Völkerkunde Museum.
London, British Museum.
" India Office Library, Whitehall.
" Victoria and Albert Museum,
Indian Section, South Kensington.
Oxford, Bodleian Library.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
" Musée du Louvre.
" Musée Guimet.
" Musée National des Arts décoratifs.
Petrograd, Asiatic Museum.
" Imperial Library.
" Musée Alexandre III.
Vienna, Imperial Library.

India :

Bankipur, Oriental Public Library.
Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum.
Calcutta, Indian Museum, Art Section.
" Victoria Memorial Collection.
Chamba, Punjab, Bhuri Sing Museum.
Delhi, Archaeological Museum, Fort.
Jaipur, State Library.
Lahore, Central Museum.

Madras, School of Arts.
Rampur, State Library.
Srinagar, Kashmir, State Museum.

Private Collections :

Anet, M. Claude, Paris.
Aubry, M. Henri, Paris.
Béarn, Mme la Comtesse de, Paris.
Benares, H.H. the Maharaja of, Benares.
Besnard, M. Albert, rue Guillaume Tell,
Paris.
Burdwan, H.H. the Maharaja of, Calcutta.
Cartier, M. Louis, Paris.
Churchill, Captain Spencer, Blockley,
Worcestershire, England.
Demotte, M., 27 rue de Berri, Paris.
Denison-Ross, Sir Edward, Kt., C.I.E.,
School of Oriental Studies, London.
French, Mr. J. C., Indian Civil Service,
Bengal, India.
Goloubew, M. Victor, Paris.
Hydari, M. G. N., Hyderabad.
Hyderabad, H.H. The Nizam of.
Koechlin, M. R., Paris.
Luynes, M. le Duc de.
Luzac, Great Russell Street, London.
Macauley, Major D., 41 St. John's Wood
Road, London.
Manuk, Mr. P. C., Bankipur, India.
Marteau, M. Georges, Paris.
Martin, Dr. F. R., Bellosguardo, Firenze.
Migeon, M. Gaston, Musée du Louvre,
Paris.
Morgan, Mr. J. Pierpont, Madison
Avenue, New York, U.S.A.

Nahar, Mr. Mani Lal, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.	Rothschild, Baron Maurice, Paris.
Nawab Salar Jung, Hyderabad, Deccan.	Rowe, Mrs. Jopling, London.
Parasnis, Rao Bahadur D. B., Satara, Bombay Presidency, India.	Schulz, Dr., Leipzig.
Perrins, Mr. Dyson, Malvern, England.	Schwaiger, Mr. I., Great Brook Street, London.
Read, Sir Hercules, British Museum, London.	Stoclet, M., Brussels.
Rosenberg, M. Léonce.	Tagore, Mr. Gogendra Nath, Dwarka Nath Tagore Street, Calcutta.
Rothenstein, Mr. W., Royal College of Art, South Kensington, London.	Vever, M. Henri, 59 rue La Boétie, Paris.
	Vignier, M., Paris.

APPENDIX C

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